





FRUIT & NUT
MADE IN
U.S.A.

Principia Typographica.

THE BLOCK-BOOKS,

OR

XYLOGRAPHIC DELINEATIONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY,

ISSUED IN

HOLLAND, FLANDERS, AND GERMANY,

DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

Exemplified and Considered

IN CONNEXION WITH

THE ORIGIN OF PRINTING.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN ATTEMPT TO

ELUCIDATE THE CHARACTER

OF

THE PAPER-MARKS OF THE PERIOD.

A WORK CONTEMPLATED BY THE LATE SAMUEL SOTHEY,

AND CARRIED OUT BY HIS SON,

SAMUEL LEIGH SOTHEY.

VOLUME III.

Paper-Marks.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY WALTER McDOWALL,

AND

SOLD BY ALL ANTIQUARIAN BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTSELLERS.

M.DCCC.LVIII.



PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

WHEN, in 1814, my Father commenced, as a matter of amusement, a series of fac-similes of the various types used by the Printers of the Fifteenth Century, he also had tracings made of all the WATER-MARKS found on the paper of the several works from which his fac-similes were taken; and accordingly, as he proceeded with the fac-similes of the types, he had the marks also lithographed.

These, together with the few additional ones which I had had executed previous to the publication, in 1845, of his intended work*, form a collection of nearly four hundred marks, taken from the one hundred books of the types of which fac-similes are given.

Originally, he had not the least idea that any historical interest was to be attached to the study of paper-marks. He looked upon them, as others had always done, as the special marks of the various manufacturers of paper, and naturally supposed that they would probably not only determine the place where a book was printed, but also its date!

It was not until after his visit to Holland, in 1824, as particularly alluded to in the first volume of my labours (pp. 173 et seq.), that he conceived the idea that the marks used on Paper manufactured during the latter part of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth centuries, would throw some light on the long-disputed claims of that country to the honour of the Invention of the Art of Printing.

Accordingly, his attention was turned to the marks found on the paper of the various editions of the Block-Books; of the Four Editions of the *Speculum*; of the Early Editions of the Bible; of the books from the press, as believed, of Gutenberg;

* The *Typography of the Fifteenth Century*: being Specimens of the Productions of the Early Continental Printers, exemplified in a Collection of Fac-Similes from One Hundred Works; together with their Water-Marks. Arranged and edited from the Bibliographical Collections of the late Samuel Sotheby, by his Son, S. Leigh Sotheby. Folio, MDCCCXLV.

of those of Fust, Schoeffer, Ulric Zell, and, indeed, of all the earliest printers. At the same time he made a collection, from all available sources, of the marks on the paper of Manuscripts when *dated*.

In the year 1816, when Mr. Ottley published his "*History of Engraving*," he noticed (vol. ii. pp. 222-7) several of the water-marks used in Lord Spencer's copy of the First Dutch Edition of the *Speculum*, and also in Mr. Singer's copy of the Second Latin Edition of the same work, with the view of shewing that marks of a similar kind are found in works of the earliest printers of Cologne, Utrecht, Alost, Louvain, Devcenter, and Brussels. It was from this fact that Mr. Ottley came at once to the conclusion that the four editions of the *Speculum* must have been printed in Holland, though the same marks are constantly found in books printed at Cologne by Ulric Zell; and one of them (the *Bull's Head*) at Mentz.

When, however, Mr. Ottley made up his mind (consequent on the information my Father, after visiting Holland, gave him) to enter into the Harlem and Mentz Controversies, with the view of confirming the opinion he had previously entertained in respect to the justness of the claims of Holland to the Invention of the Art of Printing, he proceeded, in 1829, to that country. At the Hague he obtained, by the permission of the Authorities of the City, blank leaves from all the Books of Accounts preserved in the Archives, on which were water-marks corresponding with those on the paper used for the Public Accounts bearing their respective dates.

Accordingly, Mr. Ottley amassed an interesting and large collection of the specimens of the Paper made in the Netherlands from as early a period as 1350 to 1550; which, together with the tracings he obtained of marks in dated volumes of Accounts wherein there were no blank leaves, and also tracings from the Public Account Books preserved at Harlem and elsewhere, he was enabled to form a series of drawings of the various water-marks he had met with, arranging them according to the dates, and to the different parts of the Netherlands whence the folio Books of Accounts had been forwarded.

At the close of the year 1836, Mr. Ottley died, having been for some time engaged in superintending the result of a portion of his labours through the press; the title of his intended work was "AN ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE INVENTION OF PRINTING." Few of his friends had seen what progress he had

made; and so little was known by his family as to the nature of his work, that, some months after his decease, his eldest Son and Executor, the late Mr. William Campbell Ottley, brought the loose sheets of the work to me, in order that my Father might place the plates that were engraved for it in their respective places. What my Father (who was at the time engaged on a similar work, although entertaining very different views of the arguments) did in the matter is detailed in the subjoined letter. From that time until last year I heard no more of the work, the stock of it having remained in the hands of Mr. Nicol, the printer, in consequence of the late Mr. Warner Ottley, the brother of the author, or his representatives, not having reimbursed Mr. Nicol the expense of its printing. So many years having passed without any arrangement having been made for the completion of the book, Mr. Nicol parted with the mere printed stock to Mr. Lilly, the bookseller; and in consequence of Mr. Lilly forwarding to me a copy of the printed sheets, to ask my opinion respecting them, I wrote to him as follows:

DEAR SIR,

The Woodlands, Norwood, February 3, 1855.

I little thought, when, in answer to your question, "*whether I had seen the late Mr. Ottley's work on Printing,*" that you had actually become the purchaser of the printed sheets of it from Messrs. Nicol.

Towards the close of Mr. Ottley's life more particularly, I constantly visited him; and on several occasions, when he was correcting his proof-sheets, I used to amuse him by reading them either backwards, or omitting every other line, jokingly telling him that the public would understand all about the Harlem and Mentz disputants just as well that way as the other.

Owing to my Father being also engaged on a work on the Origin of Printing, the subject, during the last few years of Mr. Ottley's life, was never mentioned when they met at each other's houses, which frequently was the case.

When Mr. Ottley died, his eldest son, who was his Executor, brought a copy of the sheets, as far as printed, requesting me to get my Father to arrange the plates in their proper places. This was done in my presence; so that all that we saw of the work was on that occasion, Mr. W. C. Ottley taking back the copy again.

Until you sent to me a copy of the work, I had always thought that Mr. Ottley had finished the first volume, and was at the close of the second. On looking at it, however, I see he had not even commenced his general observations, and the summing up of the evidence in favour of the claims of Harlem, which I know was to have been the case; nor has he touched upon the subject of Paper-Marks.

Therefore, beyond important passing arguments, and much interesting matter, to

shew the side Mr. Ottley has taken, the work must be considered quite unfinished; and, without any of the engraved illustrations, very unsatisfactory.

I would observe, that the work to which I have devoted so many years does not profess to be on the *Origin of Printing*, but on the Block-Books and earliest typographical works, to *illustrate the discovery of the Art*.

Having finished the first volume of my labours, which may be said to comprise, for the most part, matter connected with the earliest Block-Books, I did not hesitate to look cursorily over the work; but, as I do not want to pluck the feathers from the wings of others more learned than myself, I now return it, looking forward, at the completion of my task, to possess a copy, should you kindly send one to me.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

MR. LILLY.

S. LEIGH SOTHEBY.

Having at the commencement of this year (1856) finished my second volume, I did not then hesitate to accept a copy of Mr. Ottley's unfinished work. It is now before me. It forms one volume, extending to three hundred and sixty-eight pages, closing in the middle of the Author's observations upon *COSTUME*, one of his great points being to connect the Costume in the designs of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Speculum*, and the *Cantica Canticorum*, with those in the Illuminated Manuscripts of the early part of the Fifteenth Century. The number, "*Plate 26*," p. 368, shews that Mr. Ottley had given engraved illustrations of the principal subjects discussed by him. I very much fear that these illustrations have been lost or destroyed, so many years having elapsed since they were executed, and having been apparently uncared for by the representatives of the family.

Thus it is seen that the late Mr. Ottley had not arrived at that part of his work, where it was, no doubt, his intention to have introduced arguments, consequent on an investigation of *PAPER-MARKS*, with the view of strengthening the position he was desirous to prove. I am not aware that he left any written observations upon the subject. I believe that he looked upon the Marks as mechanically throwing a light upon the dates and different manufactures of Paper. So always, as I thought, did my Father; and it was not until the accidental discovery in 1845, two years after his death, of a sheet of memoranda (evidently placed by him for concealment* between the leaves of a book), that I learned that he attached any other interest to them.

* It is necessary here to state, that, owing to my intimacy with Mr. Ottley, my Father was fearful I might incidentally mention points connected with the water-marks. Hence the cause of his desire to conceal his views from me!

These memoranda related to the water-mark of the letter P, as also to other marks occurring in the Block-Books; among them, a shield bearing the *Arms of Champagne*, on which my Father has noted, "*To the late Mr. Ottley and Mr. Douce I pointed out these Arms. The latter asked, 'What have these Arms to do in these books as Water-Marks?'! And the former was quite unaware that they were the Arms of Champagne.*" This observation was made in the year 1838, as seen in the note appended to the remarks, the particulars of which are given in the present volume, when referring to the P water-mark.

I have been particular in minutely detailing the above circumstances, because the late Mr. Warner Ottley had given to me the entire Collection of the different Specimens of Paper formed by his brother. The collection had been reserved by Mr. W. C. Ottley, on the disposal of all Mr. Ottley's other Collections, thinking they might be useful to him in the completion of his Father's work; a design he had always in view, though not possessing the slightest knowledge of the subject.

With the information, therefore, which I obtained from the post-obit paper alluded to (as I may fairly term it) in the autograph of my Father, the extensive collection of tracings of water-marks made by him during the course of many years, together with the collection of specimens of early paper formed by Mr. Ottley, as also his tracings of the paper-marks in the Books of Accounts at the Hague, I soon became acquainted with the views of the former in respect to the nature of the marks, and his desire to create in them an additional interest, by endeavouring to explain that many of them contain symbolical illustrations of the period, both personal and local.

Until I accidentally met with the work of M. Koning, as related in a note, page 169, in the preceding volume, I had considered that my Father would have been the *first* to throw a light upon some of the water-marks in the Block-Books. I find, however, that such is not the case; though, at the same time, I feel sure, that, had he known another had even partially taken the same views, he would not have been so minute in the notice he made, in 1838, of the P water-mark. To M. Koning, therefore, is due the credit of having first publicly noticed, in his "*Contributions to the History of Printing*,"* that the water-marks, P, Y, and MA, which he found in the *Harlem* copies of the *Speculum*, had some connexion, as symbols, with the House of

* "Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Boekdrukkunst, den Jacobus Koning." See. *Harlem*, MDCCCXVIII.

Burgundy. So likewise, I find, was M. Koning the first to notice that the Coats of Arms occurring in some of the designs of the *Cantica Canticorum* (as particularly referred to in my first volume) had some allusion to the Dukes of Bavaria, Burgundy, and others, who took part in the Great Western Schism, the subject of which M. Koning had not the least idea that some of the designs were intended to illustrate. In the copy of M. Koning's work referred to, I find the following marginal note relating to the Coats of Arms, written in pencil, by my Father: "*I never stumbled upon these observations relative to the Burgundian Arms, until Nov. 13, 1840.*" This note was written only three years before his death, and many years after the manuscript from which I have been enabled to state his views of the hitherto unnoticed historical interest of the *Cantica Canticorum* Block-Book.

PAPER-MARKS.

HE Invention and use of the marks found upon paper, commonly, though perhaps erroneously, termed WATER-MARKS, have only been cursorily mentioned since the period of their introduction, and only occasionally touched upon by a few Antiquarians during the last and present centuries, the subject being either enveloped in much mystery, or having been considered not worth discussing.

There are few, comparatively, who understand the meaning of the word *water-mark* or rather *paper-mark*, as applied to paper. And can we wonder at it, when we find the most recent author, Mr. Herring*, on the subject of Paper-Making, not even condescending to explain, when writing on "ANCIENT WATER-MARKS," the mode in which the water-mark is designed and made apparent on the paper? Mr. Tomlinson, however, in his treatise on PAPER†, very properly enlightens the unlearned by briefly describing the process. He states, "Water-marks are ornamental figures in wire, or thin brass, sewn upon the wires of the mould, and, like those wires, they leave an impression by rendering the paper, where it lies on them, thinner and more translucent." Mr. Tomlinson adds to this information a few lines about Pot, Foolscap, Post, and other paper, in the usual way of so designating them.

Mr. Herring merely remarks, p. 78, that, "Connected with the manufacture of paper there is one point of considerable interest and importance, and that is what is commonly but erroneously termed the *water-mark*, which may be noticed in the *Times* newspaper, in the new Bank of England Notes, Cheques, and Bills, as also in every Postage and Receipt Label of the present day." He then concludes his notice on the subject with a statement of his own views of the use of the *paper-marks*. "The curious, and, in some instances, absurd terms which now puzzle us so much in describing the different sorts and sizes of paper, may frequently be explained by reference to the various paper-marks which have been adopted at different periods. In ancient times, when comparatively few people could read, pictures of every kind were much in use where writing would now be employed. Every shop, for instance, had its sign, as well as every public-house; and those signs were not then, as they

* Paper and Paper Making, Ancient and Modern. By Richard Herring. With Introduction by the Rev. George Croly, LL.D. Longman. 8vo. 1855.

† Objects in Art-Manufacture, edited by Charles Tomlinson. No. I. Paper. Harrison, 1854.

often are now, only painted upon a board, but were invariably actual models of the thing which the sign expressed; as we still occasionally see some such sign as a bee-hive, a tea-canister, or a doll, and the like. For the same reason printers employed some device, which they put upon the title-pages and at the end of their books; and paper-makers* also introduced marks by way of distinguishing the paper of their manufacture from that of others, which marks becoming common, naturally gave their names to different sorts of paper. And since names often remain long after the origin of them is forgotten and circumstances are changed, it is not surprising to find the old names still in use, though, in some cases, they are not applied to the same things which they originally denoted. Of the illustrations of ancient water-marks which I have given in the accompanying plate, that of an open hand with a star at the top, which was in use as early as 1530, probably gave the name to what is still called *hand paper*."

It is very probable that, in some cases, the names applied to the different sizes of paper may have been derived from the water-marks, or rather that the water-marks contributed to their designation. In respect to the mark of the Hand, that was in use as early as the commencement of the fifteenth century, or perhaps much earlier. Sometimes the plain open hand was used, of which there are specimens in the Account Books at the Hague, dated 1432. Of this we give a tracing in the cut beneath, No. 1. It occurs frequently, during the fifteenth century, of different sizes. In a Book of Accounts in the Archives at Harlem, occurs the Hand holding a key, No. 2, of about 1427 or 1428, the only specimen we have met with. Others there are at the Hague surmounted with a star, a crescent, or fleur-de-lis, in accounts from 1430 to 1480. In the Tower of London is a letter to the Bishop of Bath, written between 1433 and 1443, having a pendant cross to the hand, No. 3. In a copy of the *Speculum Christiani*, printed at London by *Machlinia*, the open Hand is found†. It is also found in Books printed, during the same period, at Gouda, Delft, Louvain, and other places in the Netherlands, and in some copies of books printed by Caxton, the Oxford Books, and the Book of St. Albans.



* I venture to assert that, until after or probably the close of the fifteenth century, there are no marks on paper which may be said to apply individually to the maker of the paper.

† The Typography of the Fifteenth Century. *Water-Marks*, plate x. No. 78.

Mr. Herring closes his observations upon water-marks by stating that he had met with one in the paper used for the first edition of the works of Shakespeare, 1623, "somewhat resembling the jockey-caps of the present day;" noting also that "Post paper seems to have derived its name from the post-horn, which at one time was its distinguishing mark. It does not appear to have been used prior to the establishment of the General Post Office (1670), when it became the custom to blow a horn, to which circumstance, no doubt, we may attribute its introduction. The mark is still frequently used; but the same change which has so much diminished the number of painted signs in the streets of our towns and cities, has nearly made paper-marks a matter of antiquarian curiosity, the maker's name being now generally used, and the mark, in the few instances where it still remains, serving the purpose of mere ornament rather than that of distinction."

Had Mr. Herring possessed the same opportunities as ourselves, he would have seen that the *jug* or *pot* was one of the very earliest paper-marks. We find it on the paper in a Book of Accounts, at the Hague, of Matilda Duchess of Holland, dated 1352. It was continued to be used on paper of different forms and sizes, made in the Low Countries, and is found on the paper of books printed at Gouda, Louvain, Delft, and other places in the Netherlands, during the fifteenth century.

The mark of the *Fool's-cap* we have not met with in an earlier work than "*The Golden Legend*," printed by Caxton, No. 1; unless the figure given in No. 2, of a mark on a letter in the Tower of London, dated 1453, may be so denominated.



The *Horn* was used as early as 1370, and is found in Books of Accounts at the Hague of that date. The above specimen, No. 3, is from the paper of a letter in the Tower of London, dated, from Dover, 1421, to the Bishop of Durham. It was not often used in Books printed during the Fifteenth Century. One instance, however, we have noted of its occurring in a book printed at Rome, by Ulricus Gallus, in 1471*. It was, however, in constant use, but of different forms, on paper made in Holland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From the above, it will be seen that Mr. Herring does not enter much into the

* The Typography of the Fifteenth Century. Plate G. of the Water-Marks, No. 27.

varieties of the paper-marks. He merely contents himself with noticing the few marks whence the most popular names of the paper in general use for many years have probably been derived. He gives one plate containing *five* marks, all of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, denominating them "*Ancient Water-marks.*"

Jansen may be considered as the only author who has entered into the subject of water-marks with any degree of earnestness. Santander, Laire, Breiklopt, Camus, Astle, and a few others, have only contributed notices on particular marks; Santander not even giving a single plate of the marks he occasionally refers to, consequently his observations are perfectly unintelligible. Jansen has, however, in his *Essay on the Origin of Engraving**, devoted the close of his first volume to the subject, and has given (plates XII. to XIX.) reduced fac-similes of two hundred and eighty-six marks, taken from dated Manuscripts and books printed in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries.

He very properly remarks (p. 361) that he could have much extended the number of his specimens, but his desire was to give those only from paper bearing dates: "J'aurois pu augmenter beaucoup le nombre de filigranes, si j'avois voulu employer pour cela tous les manuscrits que j'avois à ma disposition; mais comme il s'agissoit principalement d'indiquer avec exactitude les dates, je ne me suis servi que de ceux que j'ai trouvés dans les papiers de comptes dont l'année étoit bien certaine. Je prends la liberté d'engager ici les archivistes à se livrer à cette espèce de recherches, qui nous conduira inmanquablement à d'importans résultats relativement à la connaissance de l'ancienneté du papier de lin."

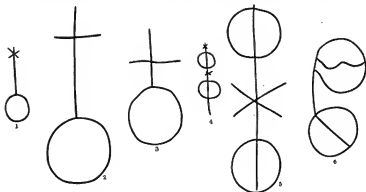
Jansen here states the importance of only consulting the marks on paper bearing dates, for the purpose of identifying the manufacture. Upon this point we will not here make any observation, further than that the certainty of being able to fix the date of the manufacture of the paper must depend not merely upon the water-mark, but on the texture of the paper and other minutiae.

To ascertain the earliest period when the water-mark was employed, is a matter that would require much research, and involve an examination of all the dated Manuscripts in Europe. Though possessing a very large collection for the illustration of paper-marks generally, it is not our intention to attempt an enumeration of the various marks in use to the close of the fifteenth century. But, as Jansen records the earliest mark perhaps hitherto known, at least so to us, we think it may not be uninteresting to give a copy of it. It occurs, he states (p. 362), in an Account Book dated 1301: a circle, or globe, surmounted with a cross! A mark that is capable of suggesting much to the mind of a Christian.

In the following cut, No. 1 gives the reduced mark, from Jansen, of the circle with

* *Essai sur l'Origine du Gravure en Bois et en Taille-Douce, etc., suivi de Recherches sur l'Origine du Papier de Coton et de Lin, etc., sur les Filigranes des Papiers des XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles, etc.* 2 tom. 8vo. Par., 1808.

the double cross lines on the stem. To shew the many varieties there are of this mark, and also of the double circle, would take several pages of cuts. Of the single circle we give two specimens, Nos. 2 and 3, from Account Books at the Hague, dated 1356 and 1430. No. 4 is from Jansen, the reduced mark, dated 1315, much resembling No. 5, dated 1360. No. 6, from a MS. of about 1355, shews a mark of a similar kind, but which had got bent out of its right position when fastened to the frame.



Our object in having selected the preceding specimens of the *Circle* mark is to shew to what a great extent a work, even on those water-marks only up to the middle of the fifteenth century, might be carried. It is not our intention to discuss any other marks than those found in the Block-Books. Our collections form a nucleus from which a very curious, and, perhaps, not uninteresting work might be produced; but we fear few would be found to incur the expense of purchasing it.

It is, we believe, the general opinion that a paper applicable to the purpose of Printing was manufactured only a short time previous to the Discovery of that Art, and that, more generally, of a small folio size, such as is found in the earliest editions of the Block-Books, and similar to what was used as early as the middle of the fourteenth century for the Public Account Books, not only in Germany and in the Netherlands, but also in Italy and other parts of Europe.

An inquiry as to the period when paper was first used, or when and where the earliest Paper Mills were established, is not the object of our researches. The works of Jansen and others may be consulted on those points. To the marks on the paper used in the Block-Books issued in the Netherlands our attention will, in the first place, be more particularly directed; our desire being to shew, that those

marks are, for the greater part, of a totally different character from those used in the Block-Books and early Printed Books published in Germany.

It is very true that no Paper Manufactory is recorded as having existed in the Netherlands* during the Fifteenth Century; but it is clearly proved by the Treasury Accounts at Harlem, that the Public Offices in that city were supplied with paper from Antwerp, as were also those at the Hague; some of the accounts preserved in the Archives at the latter place being dated as early as 1352.

The latest writer† on Paper-Making observes: "The precise period at which the manufacture of paper was first introduced into Europe appears to be rather a matter of uncertainty. Paper-mills moved by water power were in operation in Tuscany at the commencement of the Fourteenth Century; and at Nuremberg, in Germany, one was established, in 1390, by Ulman Stromer, who wrote the first work ever published on the art of paper-making. He seems to have employed a great number of persons, all of whom were obliged to take an oath that they would not teach any one the art of paper-making, or make it on their own account. In the following year, when anxious to increase the means of its production, he met with such strong opposition from those he employed, who would not consent to any enlargement of the mill, that it became at length requisite to bring them before the magistrates, by whom they were imprisoned; after which they submitted, by renouncing their oaths. Two or three centuries later, we find the Dutch, in the like manner, so extremely jealous with respect to the manufacture as to prohibit the exportation of moulds, under no less severe a penalty than that of death."

It is very evident that there existed a much greater degree of secrecy respecting the Manufacture of Paper than with regard to the Art of Printing, more particularly among the Dutch. If, therefore, we can shew that the marks occurring in the paper used in the Account Books at the Hague, at Harlem, and other places in the Netherlands, as also in the Block-Books there issued, are of a character peculiarly FLEMISH, and that those marks were not used ordinarily in Germany, we may fairly conclude that paper must have been manufactured in the Netherlands at a very early period.

As soon as Printing had arrived at perfection, paper was made of a superior

* "Le plus ancien papier de chiffons qu'on connoît dans les Pays-Bas est celui de la *Biblis Rythmica*, ou la *Bible* en vers flamands de Jacques Maerlands, écrite en 1322, qui se trouvoit dans la bibliothèque d'Issac de Long, où elle étoit sous le No. 3 dans le catalogue de manuscrits en folio. La bibliothèque Hulsienne possédoit un livre hollandais sur les abeilles (*Het Boeck der Byen*) écrit à Franckfort, en 1390, sur papier de lin et non de coton, suivant M. Meerman, qui dit n'avoir jamais vu de manuscrit fait en Allemagne sur du papier de cette dernière espèce." Jansen, pp. 323-4.

Numerous are, no doubt, the manuscripts in the Dutch and Flemish languages on paper made during the fourteenth century; and there were doubtless paper manufactories in those parts at a very early period, of which, however, all traces are now lost.

† Paper and Paper Making, Ancient and Modern. By Richard Herring. 8vo. 1855, p. 33.

quality, and, more commonly, of a larger size, particularly in Germany and Italy. For example, the paper of many of the early editions of the Bible, the *Catholicon* of Balhi (1460), the Pliny of 1469, and, indeed, many of the *Editiones Principes* of the Classics, and other works.

With Jansen we agree that the study of water-marks is calculated to afford pretty accurate information as to the country *where*, and the *probable* period when, a Book without date or place was printed; but if, *conformably with his opinion*, we hold that each individual Paper-Maker, or each particular house, had its own peculiar mark, we are necessarily led to the conclusion that the number of Manufactories of Paper in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, etc., must have been at an early period very considerable.

Until towards the close of the fifteenth century there occur no marks, that we have met with, on paper used for the printing of books, from which we are led to suppose that they were intended for the motto or device of the maker. That paper-marks were, or rather became *general*, and not confined to *particular* manufactories, is in truth inferrible from the fact that we are able to trace similar marks in use from the commencement to the end of the fifteenth century. In some instances, the varieties of the same mark are almost endless; so much so, that, instead of the *eight* plates of marks engraved by Jansen, it would require more than fifty plates of similar size to give the tracings of all the *varieties* even of two marks; the letter P and that of the *Bull's Head*.

To be rendered, however, as effectually conducive as possible to the establishment of the Chronology of Printing, it is absolutely necessary that the Paper-marks be studied with sovere scrutiny and attention to their minuter features, involving even the consideration of the mechanical processes by which they are produced. As in the human countenance, while a general conformity of design exists, there is, nevertheless, sufficient distinctness to mark the identity of the individual; so among Paper-Marks, the various species or families as they may be termed, while consisting of the same general figure or design, present a variety of minor characteristics by which they may be particularised, but which require a closer investigation to discover and apply, than has hitherto been bestowed upon them. Hence it is, that the frequent remark, "*with little variations*," is so generally found in the writings of all those, even from the earliest period to the present time, who have touched upon this subject, unaccompanied, however, by any attempt to account for or to explain them.

The Marks that are found on the paper used for the printing of the Block-Books assigned to the Netherlands are, for the most part, confined to the Unicorn, the Anchor, the Bull's Head, the letter P, the letter Y, and, as we shall endeavour to shew, the Arms of the Dynasties of the Dukes of Burgundy and their alliances, Initials of Particular Persons, and Arms of the Popes and Bishops. It must not,

however, for a moment be supposed that no marks similar to those we assign to the Netherlands occur in books printed in Germany; but, taking it as a general rule, the paper there used for printing was, no doubt, confined to the manufactories in that country.

Sometimes Paper-Marks had their origin in *local* and *incidental circumstances*, or were dictated by the nature of the work, or even of the particular part of it in which they are used. For instance, among the early printed books, we find that in the Bible printed by Eggesteyn, the mark of the *Crown* is used in the Paper on which the Books of *Kings* are struck off*, the *Bull's Head* having been used in every other part of the work, a circumstance too remarkable to have proceeded from accident.

Again, in the first edition of *Berlingheri Geographia*, the marks of the paper on which the *text* is printed, differ materially from those in that used for the *charts*, although the paper is evidently made (a degree thinner) from the same vat. The whole of the marks on the paper of the *charts* have an allusion to *Navigation* and *Discovery*, thus leading us to conclude that the paper was made expressly for the occasion; the marks being a Ship, the Arrow, the Ladder, an Eagle, and such like characteristic symbols.

Many of the works issued from the Press of Aldus are printed upon paper having as its water-mark that anchor known as his own peculiar device. As an instance of a water-mark being applicable to persons at the present period, we notice, that, in a work† printed at Florence in 1846, at the expense of Lord Vernon, the Arms of his Lordship were used as the water-mark of the paper on which the work was printed. Numerous other instances might, no doubt, be found of a similar nature.

The particular character of the Paper-Mark being thus determined, the *variations* to which we have alluded remain to be accounted for. This we shall be enabled to do more clearly and satisfactorily if we consider the nature of the process employed, in conjunction with the particular exigencies of the case. The manufacture of paper intended to be distinguished by a mark requires three contrivances: namely, the *Siege*, *Cross-Wires*, and the *Mark or Mould*; to the *second* of which are to be ascribed the upright or transverse lines; and to the latter, the particular figure or ornament of which it is the counterpart. These portions of the apparatus are perfectly distinct, and have no necessary dependence upon each other by which they could be designated as one entire object, except when connected together by the workmen in the process of their employment.

Having to furnish an unusual quantity of the same paper in a limited period of

* This occurs in the copy preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and also in a copy of the same edition some few years since in the possession of Mr. Thorpe, bookseller.

† Petri Allegherii super Danstis ipsius genitoris Comediam commentariam nunc primum in lucem editum Barone Vernon. 8vo. Florentia, 1846.

time, it was necessary to be provided with *several sets of Sieves, Cross-Wires*, as well as *duplicates* of the same *Mark* or *Mould*, according to the quantity required and the time within which it was to be supplied. To the *disposition*, therefore, of these, as well as to their particular form, are attributable the *variations* in the particular water-mark.

The Sieves appear to have been procured either in pairs, fours, sixes, eights, or twelves*, and about the centre of each, prior to its being used, the water-mark was fastened, by the workman of the paper-maker, on the inside of the form, between the upright or cross-wires referred to; an operation which, it is almost needless to observe, can never be so accurately executed as not to present some shades of difference every time, even when it has to be repeated with the *same identical* instrument; not to speak of the difference that must exist when the duplicates are employed. Accordingly, it is only by comparing them together, with reference to this disposition of their component parts, that their actual differences can be satisfactorily determined. Thus, when the tracing of one is placed over the fac-simile of another of the same device, no difference is frequently discernible, except in its *position* with regard to the upright or cross-wires, being in some more oblique, or at a greater distance, than in others; a difference sufficient, however, to shew that the sheets of paper were not made from the same sieve.

There is another source of distinction to which we would fain draw attention, as one which, we believe, has never before been noticed. We allude to the *Dots*, or *Ezercences*, observable on many of the marks. These arise from the projection of the fastening on of the mark or mould to the sieve, by means of wire of the like or of a finer quality than that used in the formation of the mark itself. These *dots* are found frequently multiplied to a considerable extent in marks otherwise, to all appearance, of the same mould. In the Unicorn, for instance, or in the letter P, so commonly used on paper of the period to which we are referring, the same apparent form of letter is occasionally to be seen with dots varying in number up to as many as a dozen, or even more, according, most probably, as the fastenings became impaired by time and use, and it was necessary to supply their places with others.

Regarding, therefore, these essential characteristics, when we use the term "*the same water-mark*," we desire to be understood as implying paper made with the *same disposition of all the parts of the apparatus* we have been describing, as by *this alone* can we determine the *identity of manufacture*, and conclude anything with respect to the probable date of an undated work; though, with all these circumstances combined, it might so happen that a person might use paper which had been made, or been in his possession, many years before†.

* We are led to this conclusion on often finding, on the paper of a bulky, printed volume, that, when there are a great many marks apparently from the same mould, it is discovered, on minute examination, that two, four, or six of them differ in some slight degree, thus shewing the number of sieves used.

† As an illustration of this, I frequently use writing paper dated forty years ago, having some time ago purchased a quantity of old paper.

It is clear, therefore, from the fact of the like symbol being retained in use for a considerable length of time, that the *actual* date of a book cannot be inferred from the occurrence of any particular species or kind of water-mark, though, the circumstances which gave rise to the addition of a particular mark being known, we are enabled to *limit* the period of the printing of the book to some time subsequent to the happening of the circumstances referred to.

Thus, for instance, when a water-mark bears the evidence of having been constructed with reference to an alliance of particular Families. In some copies of what we consider to be the earliest impressions of the Block and Printed Books, we have, as a water-mark, the plain *P*, the initials of Philip Duke of Burgundy, surmounted, in some cases, with the single Fleur-de-lys, the arms proper for Burgundy. In the *Spencer*, *Rendorp*, and *Hibbert* copies of the *Third* or *Second* Latin edition of the *Speculum*, we have, accompanying the letter *P*, the letter *Y*, the initials of *Isabella**, or *Ysabella* as it was then written. This fact, assuming our hypothesis as regards the interpretation of the marks to be correct, satisfactorily proves that those copies of that edition could not have been printed prior to 1430, the period of the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy with Isabella, January 10, 1430. The mark of the *P* and the *Y* united, as we shall have occasion to notice, appeared, for the first time, in Accounts dated 1431; and the private seal† of Philip and  Isabella was as here engraved.

Again, when the symbol employed was the arms or device of a private individual who did not come into public notoriety, or occupy a station in society sufficiently prominent to confer a title, or to claim such a distinction, until a particular period of his life, we may then certainly conclude that the paper bearing his arms or device was not made, nor in use, until after the happening of the event by which that



notoriety was acquired. For instance, when the *Pelican*, the private arms of Æneas Silvius (Picolomini), afterwards Pope Pius II., is found upon paper, we cannot do otherwise than refer its manufacture to a date subsequent to the year 1458, the period when Picolomini became Pope. The *Pelican* is a mark that very rarely occurs. We have met with it in a copy of the edition of the *Catholicon* of Balbi of sixty-five lines, supposed to have been printed by Mentellin; as also in the *Speculum Historiale* bearing the name of that printer.

Inasmuch as we find the same species of water-marks continuing in use for a very long time after the date of their first appearance, it is very evident that they do not assist us in ascertaining the precise period when the works in which they appear were printed, though they may prove that the paper bearing particular marks could not have been made *before* a certain period. So likewise the appear-

* "Ysabel," so spelt in her autograph letters.

† Vredii Sigilla Comitum Flandrie, pp. 83-6.

ance of those marks so peculiar to the paper used in the Netherlands does not prove that the books in which they occur were there printed, though, when the type used is also of that NATIONAL CHARACTER, we may fairly come to that conclusion.

We find that, *occasionally*, some of the earliest works assigned to Gutenberg, and of those which issued from the presses of Fust and Schoiffer at Mentz, bear marks of a similar character to those in Block-Books we assign to the Netherlands. So also do some of the books printed by Eggesteyn at Strasburg, by Ulric Zell, Conrad de Homborch, Guldenschaff, Ther Hoernen, and Unckel, at Cologne; and particularly those printed by John de Westphalia at Louvain, Veldener at various places, and by Ketelaer and Leempt at Utrecht. If, as we have reason to believe, the manufacture of Paper was carried on at a very early period at Antwerp, we are not surprised to learn that the Cologne printers obtained their paper from so contiguous a factory.

We do not, however, find that any of the Block-Books or books printed in Holland and other parts of the Low Countries contain marks similar to those on paper manufactured in Germany; nor, with two or three exceptions*, have we found on the paper of the Block-Books assigned to the Netherlands any marks similar to those on the paper used by the earlier printers of Italy, the Italians appearing generally to have used Paper made in their own country. The variety of water-marks that occur in the books printed at Venice by Jenson alone, is almost *endless*†, a fact that at once shews that the *water-mark* did not denote the factory in which the paper was made.

With regard, therefore, to the actual, or even probable date of a manuscript, or of a printed work, it is evident we are unable to form a conclusion from the observance of any particular *species* of water-mark. It is only by a consideration of those minute distinctions by which the *identity of manufacture* may be determined, that we are enabled to make any approximation to the date, by reference to that of some other work in which the like distinctions are discernible, and of which the date is known, or otherwise discoverable. One example will serve to shew the force of this observation, and at the same time illustrate the necessity of regarding the paper-marks with that critical accuracy which we have here insisted on as requisite to give weight to any conclusions respecting the actual periods of the printing of undated works.

There is a book, well known to our Bibliographical readers as the "*Oxford Book*," by St. Jerome‡, the printed date of which is 1468. To establish the correctness of

* The three Mounts within a Circle on the *Woodburn* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Pair of Scales* in the *Sykes* copy of the same work. The *Scales*, however, used by Jenson and others, are generally within a circle, so are many of the water-marks used in Italy.

† Jansen devotes pages 340 to 349 to a description of the marks used by Jenson at Venice, giving above eighty reduced copies of them.

‡ *Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolum Apostolorum. Impressa Ozonie MCCCCLXVIII. XVII. die decembris.*

date, Mr. Singer devoted considerable pains in his critical inquiry* upon the subject. Among, however, the marks of the paper on which this book is printed, occurs the *Hound*. On comparing one of the marks of the Hound with the same figure among the water-marks in the Dutch Bible printed at Delft in 1477, an exact correspondence will be observed, not only in the general character and features of the water-mark, but in almost every one of those *minute particulars* by which, as we have above remarked, the *actual identity of manufacture* is proved in respect of the very paper on which these two works are printed. We here subjoin fac-similes of the tracings (from the Bodleian copies) of the two Hounds; the one from the Oxford Book, and the other from the Bible. The originals of the tracings were done at an interval of several years, without any reference to the object for which they are now used.



Though the above marks do not, from the above rough tracings, on the strictest examination, bear evidence of their identity, as regards their exact position, yet they are sufficiently alike to shew that there can be little doubt of the identity of the manufacture of the paper. On a close examination of the paper of other copies, marks agreeing in the minutest particulars would doubtlessly be found.

The paper of the Bodleian Copy of the *Aretin*, printed at Oxford, dated 1479, exhibits no less than twenty-two different water-marks, nearly all of which occur in the Dutch Bible of 1477. Among them is one of the Hound, very similar to the above. The paper of Mr. Singer's copy has only five different marks, including two varieties of the Hound, one with the fleur-de-lis above, and the other without, each closely resembling the tracings here given.

The most determined supporter of the antiquity of this "*Oxford Book*" can hardly suppose that the paper for so large and considerable a work as the Dutch Bible was made and warehoused prior to 1468, the printed date attached to the tract of St. Jerome; but he may allow the possibility that the latter might have been printed on a *remnant* of the paper used for a work printed the year before, or obtained, at the same period, from the same source; an observation which (further corroborated by the occurrence of the same or like water-mark in the tract by

* *Some Account of the Book printed at Oxford in MCCCXLVIII., under the Title of "Expositio Sancti Ieronimi in Symbolum Apostolorum."* 8vo. London, 1812.

Aretin, printed at Oxford in the year 1479) completely sets at rest all conclusions as to the date of printing at Oxford, founded upon the consideration of the work in question.

I am much gratified at being able to lay before my readers the annexed most friendly communication from Mr. Singer, written in consequence of a conversation I had with him on the subject. Mr. Singer notices a volume in his possession bearing evidently a wrong date by the accidental omission of the numeral x. From among the very many other instances of a similar nature, I mention the "*Decor Puellarum*," from the Press of Jenson at Venice, which bears the date 1461 in lieu of 1471.

"Manor Place, Wandsworth Road, 8 May, 1855.

"My dear Sir,

"You wished me to state to you my conviction that I was wrong in defending the date of the Oxford Book of 1468, and I do so unequivocally.

"I have recently acquired a book in which the same typographical error, of the omission of one x in the colophon, undoubtedly occurs. The Book is in small 4to., in a neat semi-gothic type, with ornamental flowered capital letters, and having more the appearance of works produced two centuries later, the passages in Greek being all correctly printed in that character. The title is '*Francisci Mataratij de Componendis Versibus Hexametro et Pentametro*,' printed in red letters. The colophon is '*Erhardus Ratdoldt Augustensis probatissimus librarie artis extractor summa confecit diligentia. Anno Christi m. cccc lxxvij. xij. calen. Decembris Venetijs.*'

"Now Ratdoldt began to print at Venice in 1475; but it was in conjunction with his two fellow-citizens of Augsburg, Bernardus Pictor and Petrus Loslein. I am not aware that any book exists in which his name occurs of an earlier date; and he does not appear to have printed anything in which his name appears *alone* before the year 1478. This would be conclusive as to the date of this book, if a glance at it did not at once convince any one acquainted with early printed books. It has signatures, which were not used, I believe, before the year 1472.

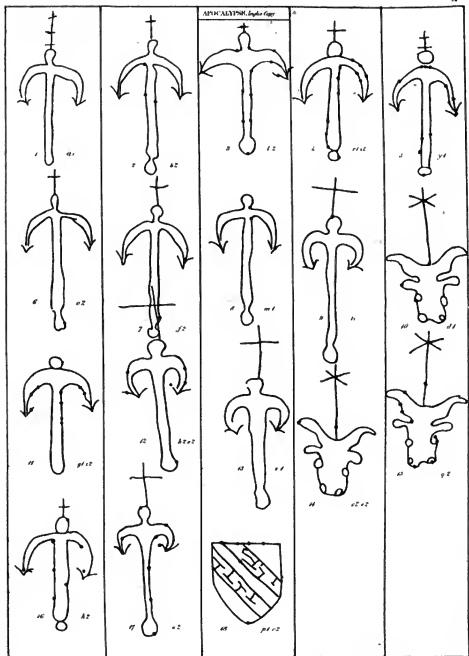
"A mistake of this kind having occurred in this case, where the book is, in every respect, carefully and well executed, we may surely conclude, that, in the Oxford book, which is a much ruder specimen, it was the case. The circumstance of the want of books from the same press between this supposed date of 1468 and 1479, ought to be conclusive.

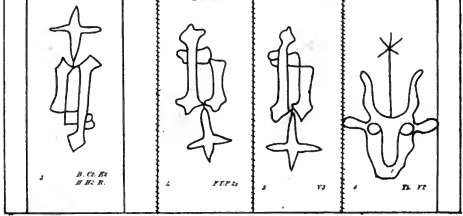
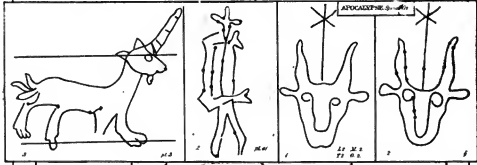
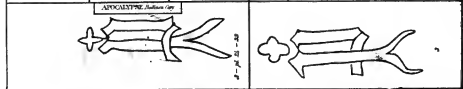
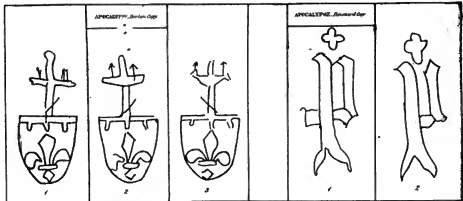
"Ever, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"S. W. SINGER.

"S. LEIGH SOTHEY, Esq."







WATER-MARKS

ON THE PAPER USED FOR THE BLOCK-BOOKS

EXECUTED IN

HOLLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

THE SEVERAL EDITIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

PLATE A.

EDITION II. *Inglis Copy*. In this copy, the *Anchor*, of various form, is the predominant mark, the *same* mark occurring twice only in five instances. Several of them are very like those in the *Inglis* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* (see plate E). The form of No. 3 is remarkable. It is the only instance we have met with in any of the copies of the Block-Books, or in any printed book. The *Shield of Arms* occurs only twice, and the *Head of the Bull* four times.

PLATE B.

EDITION IV. *Harlem (Hotel de Ville) Copy*. The *Shield with Cross* is the only mark.

EDITION IV. *Renouard Copy*. Here also only one mark appears, the letter P, with a *Fleur-de-lis* above.

EDITION IV. *Bodleian Copy*. The greater portion of the pages are so pasted together that tracings of the marks could not be obtained. Many of the leaves have the *Unicorn*, chiefly placed downwards. The letter P, of three different forms, also occurs.

The marks in the copy of this edition in the British Museum (Royal Library), and of that in the library of Mr. Johnson of Oxford, are of a very similar character.

EDITION I. *Spencer Copy*. The predominant mark is a peculiarly coarsely formed letter P, surmounted with the *Fleur-de-lis*, a mark that we have not hitherto met with in any other copy of the Block-Books. The *Bull's Head* is also of peculiar form; nor does it occur elsewhere in the books the subject of our researches. The texture of the paper used for this copy is also remarkable, the upright water-lines having the appearance as shewn in the three centre upright lines in our plate.



PLATE C.

EDITION III. *British Museum (Royal Library) Copy.* A very singular and probably unique circumstance occurs in respect to the marks in this copy. On leaf 41, "*Et vox de throno*," there are *two* marks, besides which, the greater portion of the sheets have a mark on either half, the *Anchor* on the one side, and the *Fleur-de-lis* on the other; which we believe to be very unusual in the process of paper-making. On leaf 41 the mark of the *Anchor* is in its usual place, about the centre of the page, but beneath it is the mark of the *Fleur-de-lis*, in such a position as to show that it had got there accidentally, probably dropped, owing to the carelessness of the workman whose duty it was to fix the marks to the wires in the sieve.

The *Anchor*, of form No. 2, is the first instance we have met with in the Block-Books; the same observation equally applies to the mark of the *Fleur-de-lis*.

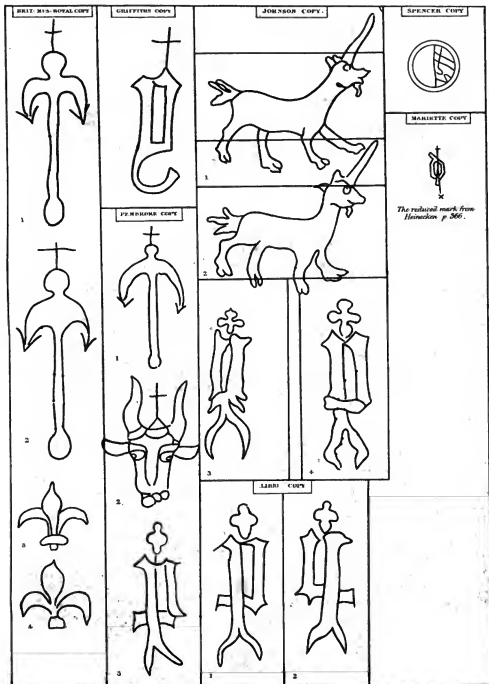
EDITION III. The Y, from one of the four pages of this edition, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, of Wadham College, Oxford.

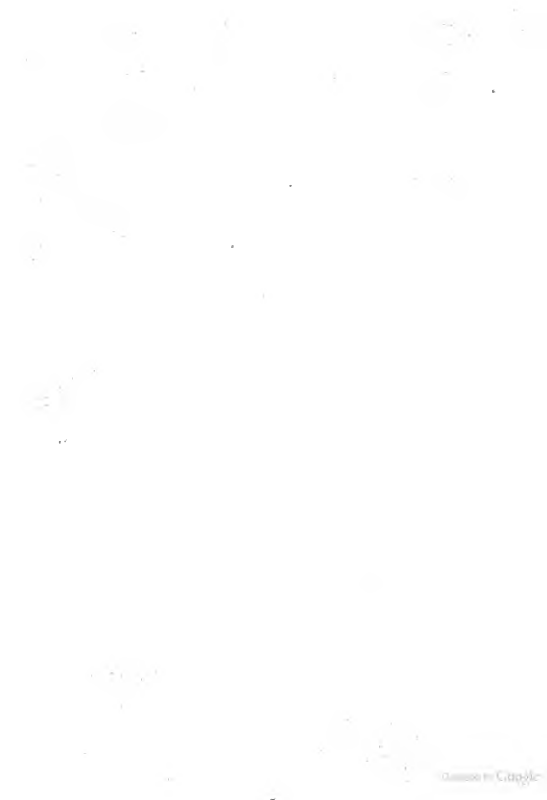
EDITION III. *Pembroke Copy.* This singularly formed *Head of the Bull* occurs only once, namely, in sig. S. The *Anchors* and *P's* are all very like the specimens given; the former much resembling some in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Apocalypse*.

EDITION IV. *Johnson Copy.* The *Unicorn* and the *P* the only marks. They are very much like those which occur in the *British Museum* and *Bodleian* copies of the same edition.

EDITION IV. *Libri Copy.* All *P's*, and very much resembling those in the *Renouard* copy of the same edition.

EDITION IV. *Spencer Copy.* A *Buckle?* the only mark. Owing to the pages in this copy being so firmly pasted together, added to the circumstance of the impressions being *very* darkly coloured, it was with the greatest difficulty that we could obtain a tracing of the mark.





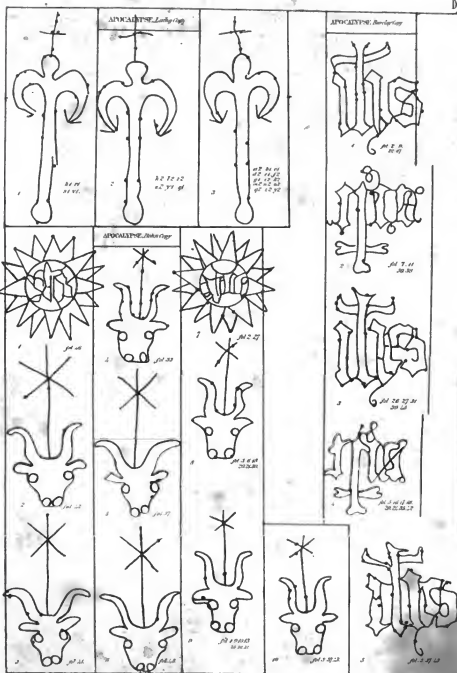




PLATE D.

EDITION III. *Long copy.* The *Anchor* of this peculiar form is the only mark. The copy, as before noticed, vol. i. p. 19 et seq. belonged to Gaignat. When in his possession it was bound up with a copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, as clearly shown by the tooling on the gilded edges of the leaves. The copy is now in the *Grenville* collection, at the British Museum.

The paper used for both copies is of the same texture, and bears only the *Anchor* mark. So closely does some of the paper in each correspond as to leave no doubt of its being made from the same vat. For instance, the mark No. 3 in each correspond in all the minutiae, and prove the mark to be the same. We have no doubt, that if all the marks were minutely examined, many would be found equally to correspond.

EDITION IV. Copy consigned to us for sale in 1829, and bought by Mr. Bohn*. The principal mark was the small *Bull's Head*, varying in size and form. A *Star*, *radiated*, and having apparently an inscription in the centre, occurs on three of the leaves. It is a mark we have not met with elsewhere. The references to the *Bull's Head*, No. 10, should be *folios* 45 and 47, instead of "fol. 3, 37, 43."

EDITION V. *I. H. S.* It is the only instance we have met with of this mark occurring in the Block-Books. It should have been placed among the water-marks assigned to Germany, the edition evidently having been there issued. The plate, however, was done several years since, when we had no intention of entering so fully into the subject.

* I have been unable to trace into whose hands this copy has passed.

THE SEVERAL EDITIONS OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

PLATE E.

EDITION III. *Grenville Copy*. *Anchor*, the only mark, and all of this peculiar high-shouldered form. It is of the same form as that in the *Lang* copy of the *Apocalypse*, with which it was originally bound. The mark, No. 3, in the former, agrees with that of No. 3 in the latter, in which there are only a few more fastenings, the paper being evidently made from the same vat. The marks No. 2 in each work also very closely agree.

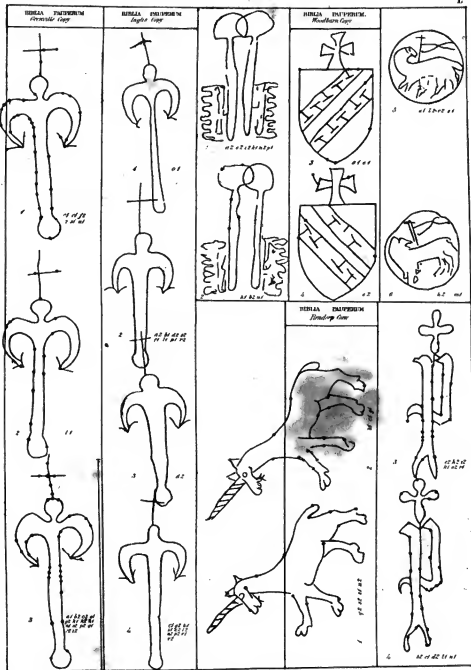
EDITION I. *Inglis Copy*. *Anchor*, the only mark. Its form, though a little smaller, slightly resembles those in the *Grenville* copy; but it corresponds as close as possible with Nos. 9, 13, and 17, in the *Inglis* copy of the *Apocalypse*.

EDITION V. *Woodburn, or British Museum (Print Room) Copy*. The *Double Key*, the *Shield of Arms*, and the *Paschal Lamb*, within a circle, are the only marks.

EDITION —? *Rendorp Copy*. *Unicorn* and *P*, with *Fleur-de-lis* above. The *Unicorns* present the two varieties, each with their front feet raised, and all placed on the sieve lengthways. The *P*'s are all of a similar form to those given.

The copy in the library of the late Mr. Lea Wilson, of Norwood, had, for some of its marks, similar ones to those in the preceding, one of the unicorns agreeing in almost every particular.

The two *Unicorns* are evidently the *same* as those used in the paper in the *Rendorp* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*. The copies formerly belonged to Scriverius, and when brought to this country were separated from their original binding.





EDITIONS OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM

CONTINUED.

PLATE F.

EDITION II. *Spencer A. Copy.* The pages in this copy are closely pasted together; but on our discovering that the only mark on the paper was the *Unicorn* of this particular form, a mark we were most desirous of tracing, the late Mr. Appleyard very kindly consented to our separating two of the leaves. We have not met with any other instance of this mark in the Block-Books. The paper throughout is of a thin texture.

EDITION II. *Lucca Copy. Tower or Castle*, the only mark, all very similar to the specimen.

EDITION IV. *Sykes (Douce) Copy.* A *Pair of Scales*, the only mark, and all of this peculiar form.

EDITION —? *Westrenen Copy.* The tracing of this *Anchor* was forwarded to us by the late Baron Westrenen. The copy was imperfect, being that formerly in the possession of Santander, the eminent bibliographer. The *Anchor* is of a peculiarly thin and long form, very like that of No. 1 in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition.

EDITION I. *Pembroke Copy. Head of the Bull*, the only mark, and all of this form. It is very similar to that in the copy of the second edition in the Royal Library, British Museum.

EDITION II. *Botfield Copy. Tower or Castle*, occurs only once (leaf κ); the *Head of the Bull* or *Calf*, with *cinqüefoil* above, being on all the other sheets.

EDITION II. *Renouard Copy.* The *P* is the only mark, much resembling several in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition.

EDITION V. *Woodburn Copy.* The *Three Mounts within a circle* occurs on two of the three leaves obtained from an imperfect copy, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Payne and Foss, to complete this copy now in the Print Room of the British Museum. The paper of those leaves is of a thinner quality than that usually employed for the Block-Books. It is apparently of Italian manufacture.

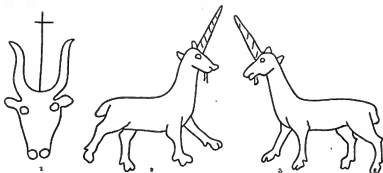
EDITIONS OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM,

PLATE F. CONTINUED.

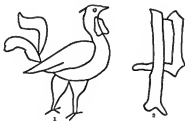
EDITION IV. *Spencer B. copy.* This peculiar shaped *Anchor* the only mark, each exhibiting, more or less, marks of the fastenings to the sieve.

EDITION III. *Chatsworth Copy.* The letters *P* and *Y*, and the *Shield of Arms*, the only marks. The latter occurs only twice.

EDITION II. *British Museum (Royal Library) Copy.* The *Unicorn* and *Bull's Head* the only marks. The leaves of the copy are so firmly pasted together, that we could not, in tracing them, distinguish the places of the fastenings. Not having a sufficient number of tracings to occupy another lithographic page, we give these here in a woodcut. The *Bull's Head* is very like those in the *Pembroke* copy of the first edition.

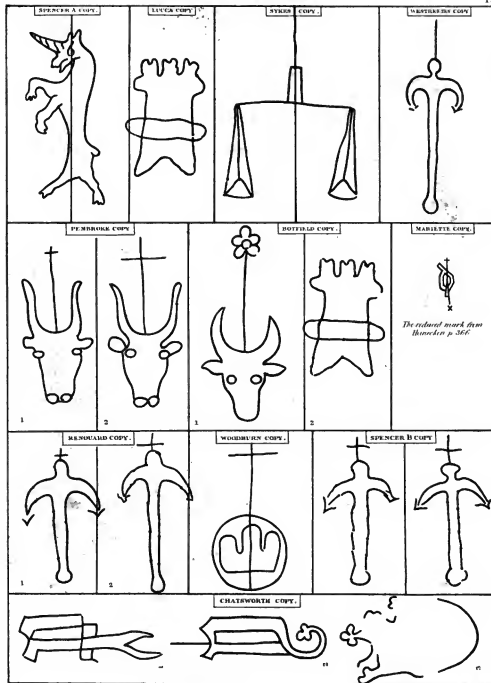


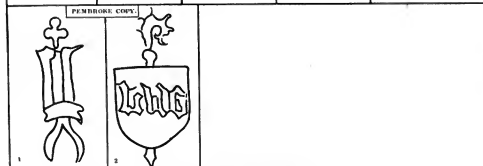
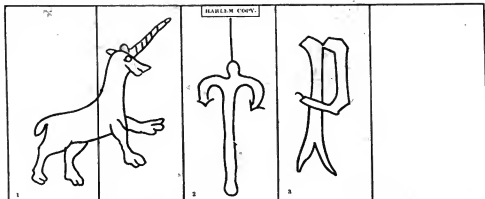
EDITION VI. *Bodleian Copy.* The small *P* occurs but seldom, and is generally turned the contrary way. The other sheets have the *Cock*, the greater portion of them being very indistinct. The *Cock* occurs in no other copy of any of the Block-Books we have seen.



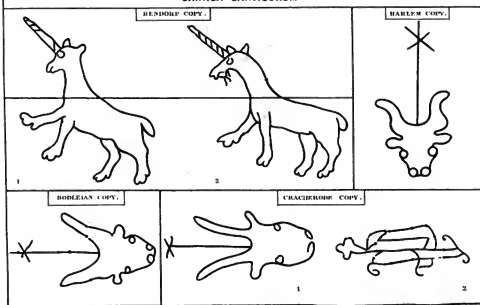
BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

F.





CANTICA CANTICORUM



THE FIRST EDITION OF THE ARS MORIENDI,
AND THE
EDITIONS OF THE CANTICA CANTICORUM.

PLATE G.

ARS MORIENDI.

Harlem Copy. The *Unicorn* is of the same character as that occurring in the *Rendorp* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Rendorp* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*, as below, with the exception that the figure is upright. The *Anchor* is of a clumsy form; and the *P*, quite plain, does not frequently occur in the Block-Books; indeed, with the exception of that in the *Bodleian* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, it is the only instance of our meeting with it.

Pembroke Copy. The *P* is of a singular form, and occurs only once, all the other sheets having the *Shield of Arms* as given in the plate.

CANTICA CANTICORUM.

EDITION I. *Rendorp Copy.* *Unicorn* the only mark. It is similar to those in the *Rendorp* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the paper bearing evidence of having been made about the same time.

EDITION I. *Harlem Copy.* *Head of the Bull* the only mark; but, owing to the leaves being firmly pasted, it was with difficulty traced.

EDITION I. *Spencer Copy.* This copy is so closely pasted that we cannot see the marks.

There was a copy* (*wanting six leaves*) in the library of Dr. Kloss, of Frankfurt, having, as marks, the *Shield*, similar to that, No. 18, in the *Inglis* copy of the *Apocalypse*; the *P* plain, a part of a *Y*, and an *Anchor*, very similar to that in the *Westrenen* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*. Judging from the marks, we have no doubt that this imperfect copy was of the *first* edition.

EDITION II. *Cracherode Copy* (*British Museum*). The *Head of the Bull*, of very similar form to that in the *Bodleian* copy. The *P* is of peculiar shape.

EDITION III. *Bodleian Copy.* This has the *Pascal Lamb* in a circle on two of the sheets, all the others having the *Head of the Bull*, as given, several of which have a round pellet in the centre of the forehead. The sheets in the copy are so firmly pasted that we could only trace the one mark given.

* This copy was bought by the late Mr. Otley; but what has become of it I know not. The note of the paper-marks I obtained from a memorandum made many years since by my Father.

THE FOUR EDITIONS OF THE SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

PLATES H, I, K, L, M, AND N.

PLATE H.

EDITION I. (FIRST LATIN.) *Inglis Copy**. The *Bull's Head* occurs only in two instances, namely, in the preface. The Head, of this particular form, is here used for the first time in the Block-Books. The *Anchor* is the only mark in the first three gatherings, except on leaf 30, where the *Unicorn* appears; paper bearing the *Unicorn* having been used for the fourth gathering, except on leaf 43, where the *Anchor* is found. In the copy of the first edition, preserved at Harlem, the marks accord with those in the *Inglis* copy, except that leaf 30 has the *Anchor* in lieu of the *Unicorn*. This coincidence in the copies shews them to have been printed at the same time, it not being probable, that, at that early period, the printer kept in hand a large stock of paper.

The *Anchor* is of the same peculiar, high-shouldered form as those in the *Lang* copy of the *Apocalypse* and the *Grenville* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

The paper on which the *Anchor* occurs (twenty-one times) is of a thicker quality than that where the *Unicorn* (eight times) is used, the latter being nearly the same in substance as that in the *Rendorp* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*.

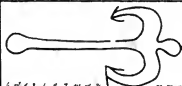
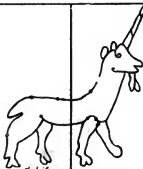
EDITION II. (FIRST DUTCH.) *Spencer and Enschede Copies*. The marks in the *Spencer* copy are those noted, Nos. 3, 6, 7, and 8, comprising the *Unicorn*, downwards; two *P*'s, one plain, and the other with the *Fleur-de-lis* above; a small *Bull's Head* on two sheets; and a peculiarly formed *Bull's Head* occurring only once, namely on leaf 45.

The Marks in the *Enschede* copy are the plain *P*, the *P* with the *Fleur-de-lis*, and others; but, unfortunately, the note of the leaves on which they occur had been mislaid at the time the plate was worked. Since that time I have ascertained that the marks in the two copies agree on the several sheets, with the exception, that, in the first gathering, a *P* occurs, the *Unicorn* being used in all the other sheets of the first three gatherings†. The marks in the fourth gathering correspond.

* While writing the following, I have this immaculate copy before me.

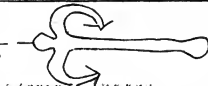
† Here is another remarkable instance of the marks agreeing in two copies of the same edition.

SPECULUM.
First Edition (4th Edn.)
English Copy.



1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

13. 14. 15. 16. 17.



1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

13. 14. 15. 16. 17.



SPECULUM.

Second Edition
(4th Edn.)

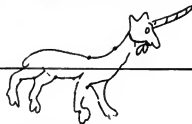
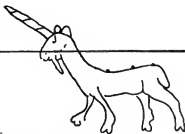
Spencer
&
Anahely
Copies.

The Negation of the
shape of the letter n, t
taken

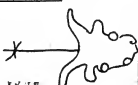


1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

13. 14. 15. 16. 17.



1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.



1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

13. 14. 15. 16. 17.

1. pl. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

SPERULUM
David Gibson, 1964, 1965.
 Spencer-Hibbert & Rendshaw,
 copies varied



1. R. 17. 1.



2. R. pl. 45. 32. 39.



3. R. pl. 45.



4. R. pl. 45.



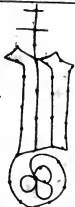
5. R. 17. 2.



6. H. 17.
 R. pl. 36. 15.



7. R. pl. 35. 34.



8. H. pl. 3. 20. 15. 18.
 R. pl. 45. 34.
 S. pl. 20.



9. R. pl. 4.
 S. pl. 12.



10. H. pl. 20. 36. 22.
 R. pl. 19. 23.
 S. pl. 20. 36.



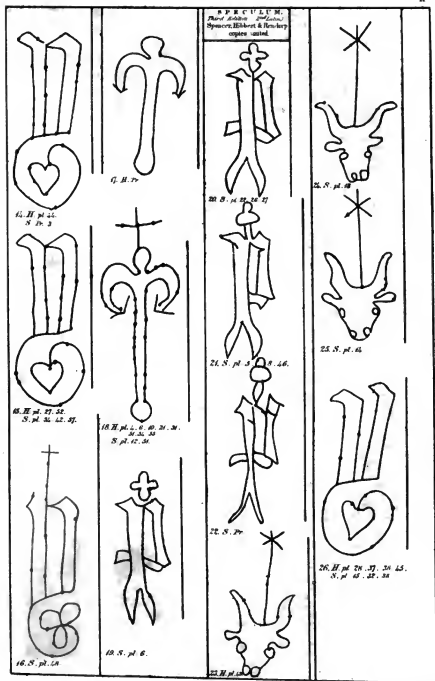
11. H. pl. 11. 43. 44. 26.
 R. pl. 20. 34. 42.
 S. pl. 11. 32. 34.

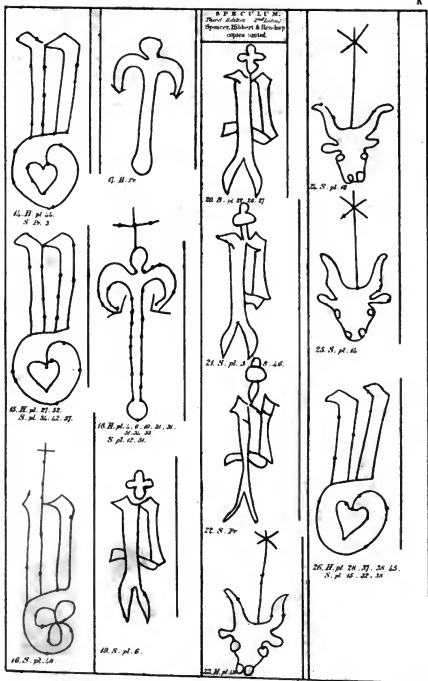


12. H. 17.



13. H. pl. 18. 40. 32.
 S. pl. 25.



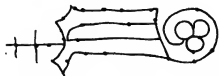




43. 1st. 15.



44. 1st. 15.



45. 1st. 15.



46. 1st. 15.

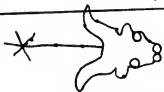


47. 1st. 15.

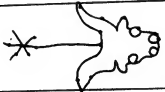
+



48. 1st. 15.



49. 1st. 15.



50. 1st. 15.



51. 1st. 15.

+



52. 1st. 15.



53. 1st. 15.



54. 1st. 15.



55. 1st. 15.



56. 1st. 15.

SPECULUM.
Third Edition, 1867.
Chicago: C. C. Rogers.



EDITIONS OF THE SPECULUM

CONTINUED.

PLATES I, K.

EDITION III. (SECOND LATIN.) *Spencer, Hibbert*, and Rendorp† Copies.* The greater portion of the paper used for these three copies was evidently made at one time. Here we have a great variety of marks. *P* with *Fleur-de-lis* above, and others with an ornament, most probably intended for the *Lis*, but coarsely made; the *Y*, some with *Cross* above and with one *Heart* at bottom; the *Y* with *Fleur-de-lis* at bottom; two *Shields*, one with *Arms*, and the other with *Inscription* and *Crozier* above; the large *Anchor*, very similar to that of the *Laing* copy of the *Apocalypse* and the *Grenville* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*. The Head of the Bull, No. 5, appears to be of the same character as that on page 45 of the *Inglis* copy of the *Speculum*, but injured.

EDITION III. The Marks in Mr. HOLFORD's copy (formerly *Renouard's*) of this edition are very much of the same character and variety as those in the preceding copies.

The paper is of various qualities, some of the sheets being very much thinner than others, particularly those which have the *Y* with the *Trefoil* at bottom. The impressions of the wood-engravings are very muddy, and, in many instances, very faint; so much so, that, in several of the pages where the text is engraved in wood, the impress from the blocks shews scarcely any ink.

The PEMROKE copy (wanting the first and last leaves) of this edition has its leaves so pasted together, that the marks are not very discernible. They comprise chiefly the high-shouldered *P*, as in the *Grenville* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Y*, with the *one Heart* and *Trefoil* pendant, as in the *Spencer* and other copies of the third edition.

PLATE L.

EDITION III. (SECOND LATIN.) *Singer Copy.* The Marks are here all of a very similar character to those in the other copies mentioned, of the same edition. The *Y*, No. 14, is, however, different, occurring but once, and is the only instance we have met with in any of the copies of the preceding Block-Books.

* This is now in the Douce Collection in the Bodleian Library. It formerly belonged to M. Girardet de Préfond; thence it passed successively into the collections of MM. Le Cotte, Gaigant, De Bosc, and Count Mac-Carthy.

† This formerly belonged to Scrivener, the Dutch Historian, thence passing into the Library of Count Rendorp, whose collection was brought to this country in 1823, when it was sold by auction; the copy of the *Speculum* wanting many leaves producing £14:3:6.

EDITIONS OF THE SPECULUM

CONTINUED.

PLATES M AND N.

EDITION IV. (SECOND DUTCH.) *Harlem Copy*. With the exception of the *Unicorn*, the marks in this copy are all of a different character from those in the three other editions. Here, for the first time, we meet with the *Bull's Head* of another form, having above a *Shield of Arms* divided into six parts. The *St. Catherine's Wheel* with *Circle* below, the *Double Key*, the *Hand with Gauntlet* composed of five *Hearts*, and *Hand with Gauntlet in six divisions*, but evidently intended, though coarsely made, to be the same as the other. Initials, *M. A.* within circle, with *Shield of Arms* attached to it, similar to that above the *Bull's Head*.

EDITION IV. (SECOND DUTCH.) *Pembroke Copy*. The *Hand*, as annexed, occurs on one sheet in this copy. It is evidently of the same kind as that which occurs in the *Harlem* copy of the same edition, but the lower portion has been much broken. The marks on the other sheets are the *Bull's Head*, with *Cross* and *Shield of Arms* attached to it, as in the *Harlem* copy of the same edition, and a small *Anchor*.

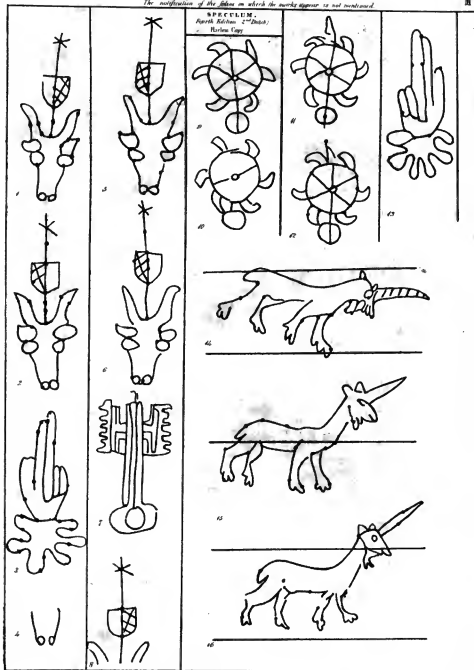


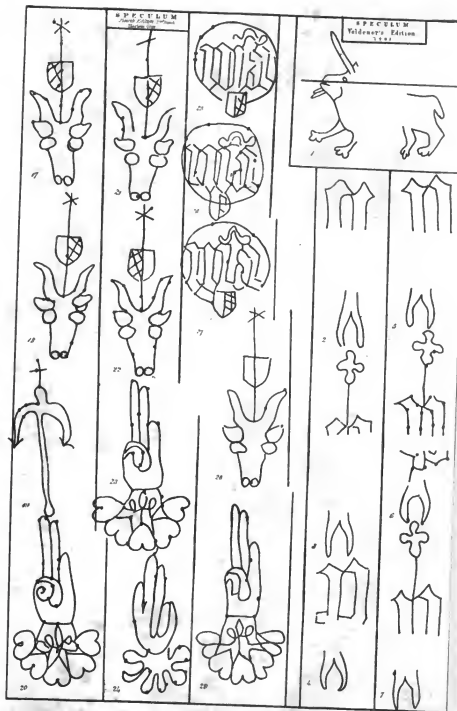
SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

Printed at Utrecht by Veldener, 1483.

The *Unicorn* is of a very peculiar form; the *P's* are of the same character as those used in several of the *Block-Books*.

The work being of quarto form, the centres of the Marks could not be taken, as the copy was in a bound state.





WATER-MARKS ON THE PAPER OF BOOKS PRINTED IN HOLLAND
DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PLATE O.

LUDOVICUS PONTANUS DE ROMA. *Spencer Copy.*

The paper on which the *Spencer* copy of this work is printed, is of a thick texture, which, coupled with the density of the printed text, prevented our marking, in the tracings of the water-marks, the fastenings of the wires. On the fifty-nine leaves, or thirty sheets, of paper used, we have no less than sixteen different marks, the greater portion being similar in character to those in the four editions of the *Speculum*, and yet presenting a variety in two or three marks.

The ending of the *P*, No. 1, is different from any hitherto met with; so also is the shield with the *Fleur-de-lis* above, No. 3, though the inscription is no doubt the same as in the *Pembroke* copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, plate G. The double-forked *P*, No. 5, is also of singular and uncommon form. The peculiar shaped *Bulls' Heads*, Nos. 10, 11, and 12, somewhat resemble that on p. 45 of the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Speculum*; as does also the *Unicorn* that of No. 1 on folios 45, 46, and 48, of the same.

PLATE P.

PII SECUNDI OPUSCULA, &c. *Spencer and Hibbert Copies.*

The letter *Y* is the only mark; many of them closely resemble those used in the *Singer* copy of the third edition of the *Speculum*, plate L.

SALICETO DE SALUTE CORPORIS. *Spencer Copy.*

The high-shouldered *Anchor*, the *Y*, the *Double Key*, and the *Shield* with three fleurs-de-lis, are, no doubt, when perfect, similar in form to that in the *Chatsworth* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

FACETIE MORALES. *Escheche Copy.*

The *Anchor*, same as the last; a small but singularly formed *P*, a little resembling that in the *Cracherode* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*. The small *Head of the Bull* we have not elsewhere met with among the Block-Books, though one of very similar form, as in the next plate, is very frequently found among the marks in a copy of the *Fasciculus Temporum* printed by Veldener.

PLATE Q.

PAPER-MARKS IN BOOKS PRINTED BY VELDENER.

On examining copies of the editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed at Louvain in 1476, and at Utrecht 1480, by *Veldener*, we are struck with the endless variety of water-marks which occur in them. The marks of *one* copy of each of these works amount to no less than *fifty-six*, though, in some instances, they are of the same species, but of different form.

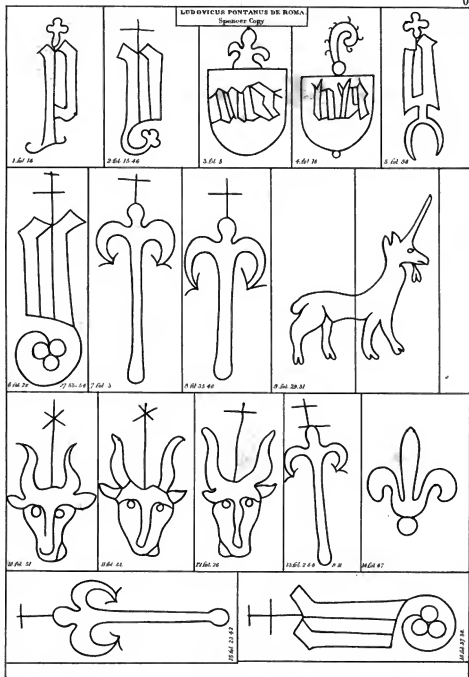
Of these, the present plate represents thirteen of the same character as those found in the later editions of the Block-Books. It is not improbable, that, if we had the opportunity of examining many copies of these works, we might find nearly all the marks used in those editions.

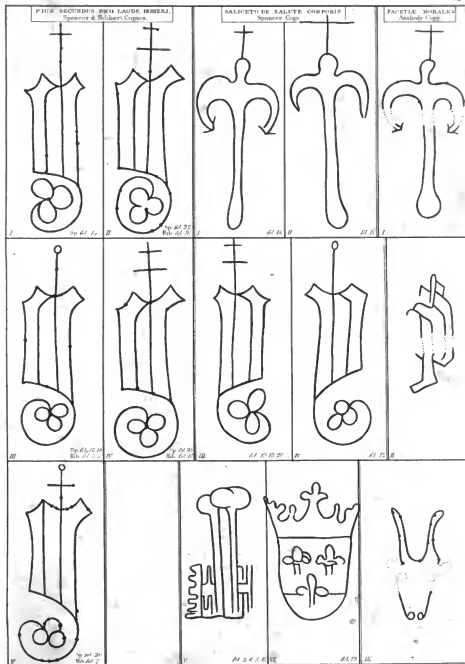
The three *Unicorns* are of a very different form; but are here given with a view to future reference, when we shall have occasion more particularly to enter upon the subject of the Water-Marks. They are of the same peculiar shape as are found on the paper of many of the books printed by Caxton; to which productions we shall have occasion more particularly to refer at the close of our notices on those Paper-Marks used in the Netherlands at the period inquired into.

We think it quite unnecessary farther to extend the number of our plates to shew that marks of a similar character to those which we have given were used in nearly all the books printed in the Low Countries.

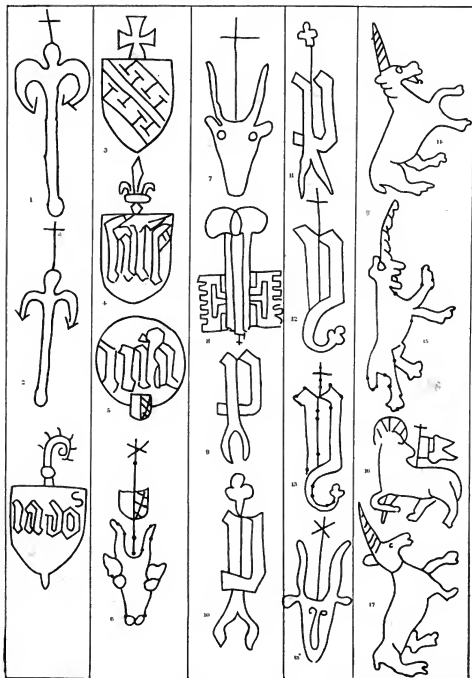
In the preceding plates of the Paper-Marks, A. to Q., it will, no doubt, have been observed, that they do not all follow in regular succession according to the probable issue of the several editions of each work. This circumstance has arisen from several of the plates having been executed many years previous to our examination of other copies of the Block-Books.

In the identification of the manufacture of paper, two very important points must be observed: *First*, the space between the divisional water-lines caused by the thicker upright wires of the sieve; and *secondly*, the exact position of the mark when fastened generally between, or occasionally upon, the stouter wires. In both these particulars we have endeavoured to be correct.







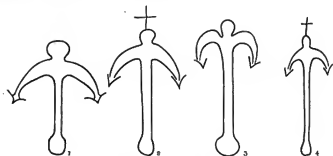


MEMORANDA
RESPECTING
THE PAPER-MARKS IN THE BLOCK-BOOKS
EXECUTED IN
HOLLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

ANCHOR. AN ACKNOWLEDGED SYMBOL OF A MARITIME COUNTRY.

IT is the Arms of the Island of Goree, or Goreda, once a Dynasty, and of sufficient consequence to give the name to Goree, in the Atlantic, an Island belonging to the Dutch.

It was, no doubt, a symbol frequently used by the ancients. On the Seleucian Medals it marks the coin as having been struck at Antioch, where an anchor* was found on digging out the first foundations of the city, though at a considerable distance from the sea.



As a Paper-Mark it may have been used at a very early period. Our earliest tracing (No. 1) is from the Archives at the Hague (Accounts of Rutgerszoon), 1396. From among the thousands of sheets of paper examined by the late Mr. Ottley at the Hague, the mark of this peculiar form occurred in no other instance than that as stated. It is also remarkable that the *Anchor*, of very similar shape, though without the cross on the top, occurs but on one sheet in the various copies of the Block-Books examined by us. It is found in the *Inglis* copy of the *Apocalypse*

* Pinkerton on Medals, vol. i. p. 191. Edition 1789.

(see pl. A. No. 3). Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are from the Accounts from Leeuwenhorst, 1423, Counts of Holland, 1421, and Accounts, 1432.

The peculiarly tall *Anchor*, as annexed, is in Accounts dated 1446-7. In proceeding to notice the next in date, it must be particularly borne in mind that the statement made by us as to *dates* has only reference to the researches made by ourselves upon the subject, to which, as we have before stated, the collections of the late Mr. Ottley have contributed largely. As dates, however, they may be depended upon, taken, as they have been, from Manuscript Books of Accounts officially forwarded from the various places to which they refer. No doubt an examination of other Account Books and Manuscripts upon paper preserved in other parts of Holland, the Low Countries, Germany, and, indeed, in all parts of the Continent, more particularly in the Public Libraries, would add much to the information we already possess. Had such, however, been personally attempted by us, we fear the result would have been a total abandonment (arising from physical and official impediments) of all interest in the subject, as would also have been the case had we deferred the printing of our two preceding volumes until we had examined all the various copies of the Block-Books known to exist in Europe.

The Accounts of West Voorne, 1416-17, contain marks very similar to that of the *Inglis* copy of the *Apocalypse* (pl. A. No. 4), while that in the Accounts of the Abbey of Leeuwenhorst, 1426 (No. 2), as also that (No. 4) in the Accounts of the Counts of Holland, 1421, resemble very closely those in the other sheets of the same copy of the *Apocalypse*, as also those in the *Pembroke* copy of the *Apocalypse*, and in the *Inglis*, *Renouard*, and *Spencer* copies of the *Biblia Pauperum* (plates E. and F).

The *Anchor* is usually surmounted by the plain cross. The one on the left, of a peculiarly high-shouldered form, is found in the Accounts preserved at Harlem, dated 1442; and of a larger size in the *Lang* copy of the *Apocalypse* (pl. D.); the *Grenville* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* (pl. E.); the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Speculum* (pl. H.); as also frequently in the second and third editions of the *Speculum* (pl. I., K., and L.). It is the mark on the *Temptationes Daemonum* broadside, and in the Alphabet Book in the Print Room at the British Museum, relics particularly noticed, Vol. i. pp. 121-4.



The deep-shouldered *Anchor* does not very often occur, the tracing given being from Account Books of South Holland, 1463-5. Of a larger size, it is found in the *British Museum* copy of the *Apocalypse*, the only instance we have as yet met with in the Block-Books.



The *Anchor* with the *Tunny* Fish*, or *Dolphin*, twisted on it, was probably used as the Symbol of Venice long before it was assumed by Aldus as his device, as frequently on the title-pages, but more generally at the close of the works issued from his press. Many of the books printed by Aldus and his family have no other water-mark but the *Anchor* within a circle, with divers ornaments above. The one given is from a work printed by him in 1499.



The *Anchor* is sometimes found in books printed in the Low Countries (see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, No. 9, Louvain; No. 73, Delft), and occasionally in copies of the earliest productions of Mentz and Cologne, as also in those from the presses of Gutenberg and Ulric Zell. We have not met with it in any books printed by Fust and Schoeffer, Mentellin, or others of the German Printers; though, *within a circle*, it was not an uncommon mark in the paper of Italian manufacture.

SHIELDS OF ARMS.

THE ARMS PROPER OF JOHN THE INTREPID (JEAN-SANS-PEUR), son of Philip Audax DUKE OF BURGUNDY, the SINGLE FLEUR-DE-LIS being the COGNIZANCE of the HOUSE OF BURGUNDY. As the eldest son, the shield is charged with a *label* during the life of his father. It is surmounted with a Cross in consequence of his having "*taken up the Cross*" in a crusade against the Turks in 1395. He reigned, as Duke of Burgundy, from 1404 to 1419, when he was slain by order of the Dauphin of France.



The single *Fleur-de-lis*, the Lily, represents the Arms of Lisle; and, when accompanied by the single Rose, they formed the Arms of Urbau IV. 1261-4. The *Fleur-de-lis* is most probably one of the earliest

* Emblematical of the Tunny Fishery, of which an interesting account will be found in Shaw's *Zoology*, vol. iv. p. 451.

heraldic symbols on record. It is found on the earliest Seals of England and France, public and private*.

Among the Archives in the Tower of London is a Roll of several sheets, dated from Charing, March 8th, 13th of Henry IV. (1412-13), whereon this mark is found, as also in a letter from Henry VI. to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1443-50). It is the only mark in the *Harlem* copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*; nor have we found it in any other of the Block-Books, though subsequently and frequently used in the books printed at Cologne, Louvain, Gouda (see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 38, 39, 54, 95, &c. It is also found in the *Canterbury Tales* and other works printed by Caxton.

This design represents, symbolically, JOHN THE INTREPID destroying his Uncle,



the DUKE OF ORLEANS. Jealousy and discord had long existed between the Houses of Burgundy and Orleans, the result of which was, that, in 1407, the Duke of Orleans was assassinated, the Duke of Burgundy acknowledging that he had killed him. This avowal of the murder is related by Barante† as having occurred at the interview, shortly after, between his Uncle the Duke de Berry and himself: "Le Duc de Berry vint à la porte, et dit au Duc Jean, 'Mon neveu, déportez vous d'entrer au conseil, on ne vous y verrait pas avec plaisir.' A quoi le Duc de Bourgogne répondit, 'Monsieur, je m'en déporte volontiers, et afin qu'on n'accuse personne de la mort du Duc d'Orléans, je déclare que c'est moi et nul autre qui ai fait faire ce qui a été fait.' Sur ce, il tourna son cheval et se retira."

et se retira."

The Duchess of Orleans having shortly after demanded justice at the hands of the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy pleaded his justification. It is from an illustrated drawing on the first page of one of the manuscript copies‡ of the Justifi-

* In the collection of Manuscripts formed by Mr. F. Moore, sold in London, April 1856, was a volume, in folio, intitled "Recherches sur les Fleurs-de-lis et sur les Villes, les Maisons, et les Familles, qui portent des Fleurs-de-lis dans leurs Armes. Par M. le Président Dorey Noinville, Membre de la Soc. des Inscriptions, et de la Soc. Royale de Londres." The MS. comprises 372 pages, an abridgment of which is stated to have been printed in a duodecimo volume.

† Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, par Barante. Par. 1842, vol. ii. p. 113.

‡ The volume occurred last year at the sale of the Library of Lord Stuart de Rothsay, in Wellington-street, the following being the note of it in the catalogue, No. 2580. It sold for £33.

Petit (Jehâs Le) JUSTIFICATION DU DUC DE BOURGOGNE

(TRANSLATION.)

"Par force le lion rompt et tue,
A ses dents et gris la couronne,
Et le lion par treugrant ire
De sa pite grant coup lui dūne."

"By force the Wolf breaks and o'erturns,
With teeth and fangs, the Lion's crown;
With greatest rage the Monarch burns,
And with his paw he knocks him down."

cation publicly issued by the Duke, that the wood-cut illustration is taken. The design represents the Duke of Orleans as the wolf endeavouring to seize the crown from the head of the Lion, intended to represent the Duke of Burgundy, with the single fleur-de-lis, the insignia of his Dukedom, on his head.

The Seal* of the Parliamentary Records of the Duchy of Burgundy bears a *single* fleur-de-lis, as does also the counter of the Duke of Burgundy for the siege of Poligny.



The annexed counter was struck by Philip Duke of Burgundy, in 1430, on his marriage with Ysabel daughter of John the first, King of Portugal. It was also intended to commemorate the institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was founded by the Duke to perpetuate the memory of the festivities with

which his marriage was celebrated, as well as the acquisition of territory which he, as Duke of Burgundy, became possessed of by the death of Philip Duke of Brabant.

Obverse. The escutcheon (above a helmet surmounted by the *fleur-de-lis*) of the Duke, quartered, in the same manner as he bore it after Brabant and Limbourg were brought under his power. In the first and fourth quarterings is a single fleur-de-lis, for the Duchy of Burgundy. The second quartering, in its first half, has six slanting bands (or stripes), alternately gold and blue, the arms of the *old* house of Burgundy. The next half presents a golden lion on a black ground, for Brabant. On the second half of the third quarter are the arms of Limbourg, a red lion. The arms of Flanders, a black lion, occupy the centre. Inscription: "Philip(pus) DEI GRA(tia) DUX BURG(undie)." *Reverse.* Four steels with flints and sparks. Inscribed, "JAMAIS AULTRE, JAMAIS AULTRE."

Reverse. Four steels with flints and sparks. Inscribed, "JAMAIS AULTRE, JAMAIS AULTRE."

The *Fleur-de-lis* may have been one of the very earliest marks upon paper,

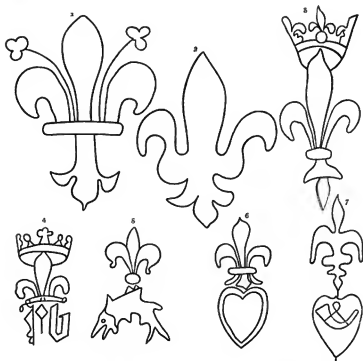
Cy cōmence la jüstification de monseigneur le duc de bourgogne, conte de flandres dartois et de bourgogne sur le fait de la mort et occision de feu le duc d'orleans, pposée par maistre Jehan le petit docteur en theologie et conseiller du dit duc de bourgogne le VIII^e Jour de mars l'an mil quatrecentz et sept.

MANUSCRIPT OF THE PERIOD ON VELLUM, with capitals in gold and colours, and with a painting at the commencement representing the Lion killing the Wolf. 4to.

THIS IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPT IS THE CELEBRATED DEFENCE OF HIS SOVEREIGN, JEAN-BENOÎT-PEUR, DUKE OF BOURGUNDY, for causing Louis, Duke of Orleans, to be assassinated. In the grand hall of the Royal Hotel of St. Paul, Le Petit publicly justified the deed, insisting on its perfect legality; and, in the most savage manner, attacked the honour of the victim, boldly telling the Dauphin, the King of Sicily, and the other nobles assembled, to try the question, that surprise and treason were lawful weapons to defeat a tyrant. The doctrine thus broached was so unpalatable, that it was condemned as heretical by the Archbishop of Paris, and, at the solicitation of Gerson, also by the Council of Constantinople. The favour of his Sovereign prevented any ill effects to the author's person; and Petit died a natural death, at Hedim, in 1411. After his death, however, the King of France, through the Parliament of Paris, on 16th Sept. 1416, issued an "Arret," rigidly forbidding the circulation of the work; and it was severely censured by the University of Paris. Owing to this cause, manuscripts of the Justification are excessively rare, and, even when they occur, are generally but transcripts of a copy made in the xvth century, in which the objectionable passages are expunged.

* Vredii Sigilla Comitum Flandriae, pp. 91, 92.

though we have not as yet met any of undoubted date until after the middle of the fourteenth century.



In the above tracings No. 1 is from the Hague (Wyck Accounts), 1366-7. Of the same form, but smaller, examples are found in two autograph letters in the Tower of London, one from Henry V to the Bishop of Durham, dated 1418, and the other from St. Denis, 1421. Among the Shields of Arms of the Princes, &c., attending the council of Constance*, it occurs as the armorial bearings of one of the Bishops.

No. 2. The large plain *Fleur-de-lis* is found in an early manuscript in the British Museum (Caligula D. 111, fol. 121). Of smaller size, in Accounts at the Hague (Putte and Stryen), 1389. Sometimes with a cross above, MS. 1450. The plain

* Das Concilium Büch geschehen zu Constenz. Augspurg. Auth. Sorg. M.CCCC.LXXXIII.

Fleur-de-lis occurs but in one instance in the Block-Books, the *British Museum* copy of the *Apocalypse*, pl. C. Occasionally we find it in printed books. It occurs once in the *Spencer* copy of *Ludovicus de Roma*, pl. O.

No. 3. Here we have the plain *Fleur-de-lis* surmounted with the *Crown*, as represented on the head of the Lion (John the Intrepid). It occurs in Hague accounts (Heusden) 1431-2-3.

No. 4. In this the initials *J. B.* are appended to the *Lily*. Our tracing is from a mark in the Aretin, printed at Oxford in 1479; we have not as yet found it in any of the Block-Books or manuscripts, nor earlier than 1475, in a book printed at Paris. The initials are probably intended for John Duke of Brabant (of the house of Burgundy), the second husband of Jacobea, or Jacqueline, Duchess of Holland; though the mark may be of earlier date, and intended for John Duke of Burgundy. The paper on which the Aretin and nearly all the Oxford books are printed, was evidently obtained from the same source as that used in the Dutch Bible of 1477; on the paper of which occur so many Shields of Arms, as if intended to commemorate the union of the Netherlands with Austria, by the marriage in that year of Mary, the daughter and heiress of the dominions of Charles Duke of Burgundy, with Maximilian Emperor of Austria. In the same copy of Aretin, a similar mark occurs, with the *J.* only appended to the fleur-de-lis, a fact which tends to confirm the views we entertain respecting the intention of the marks.

In all the early and larger seals engraved in the work of Vredius, John Duke of Brabant is represented as having his helmet surmounted by the *single* fleur-de-lis; though sometimes in the smaller seals a small lily surmounts the outer foliage, as in the accompanying cut, the letter *b* appearing on the right side.

No. 5. The *Fleur-de-lis* over the Dolphin is found in the Account Books at Harlem, 1426-27, 1432. It is also found in the manuscript collection preserved in Lincoln Cathedral, MS. A. 1-17, in the autograph of R. Thornton, who did not die until 1450.

In the Dolphin we recognise the Arms of Jacqueline of Holland, who married (April 1418) John Duke of Brabant, and, accordingly, we find it in constant use up to a late period; a Shield of Arms with the Dolphin and Fleur-de-lis, each separately occupying one quartering. As, however, the mark of the Fleur-de-lis on the Dolphin has not been found, we believe, on paper earlier than 1430, it may be intended to commemorate the institution of the order of the Golden Fleece, founded at Bruges, Feb. 10, 1430, by Philip Duke of Burgundy, to commemorate his marriage with Ysabella of Portugal.



Apocalypse may have been intended for a cross, though applicable as the *fleur-de-lis*.

THE DOLPHIN is found in the Books of Accounts at Harlem, 1418. In the Church Register there, of 1426, and at the Hague (Voorne) 1423-4. In an autograph letter, in the Tower of London, to the Bishop of Durham, dated from Meleun, 1420, we find a similar mark. In a book printed at Louvain, it occurs as an Armorial Shield, see *Typographia Cent.* xv, No. 91.

No. 6. The *Fleur-de-lis*, with the heart beneath, is found at the Hague in the Account Books of the Counts of Holland, 1418-19.

No. 7 is from the Books of Accounts, 1442, at Harlem.

As an accompaniment to the letter P, the *Fleur-de-lis* was not generally used before the year 1430. The ornament surmounting the P in the *Spencer* copy of the first edition of

THE ARMS OF CHAMPAIGNE. In order to conciliate Philip Duke of Burgundy, Charles of France, after his unsuccessful attack upon Paris in 1429, promised the Duke the fine countries of Champagne (Compeigne) and Brie; and, accordingly, when Henry VI. of England landed at Calais, and was crowned King of France, December 1430, the day after he and his Parliament confirmed the donation of those countries in appanage to the Duke of Burgundy, reserving to himself, as King of France*, only the homage of the Duke for those countries.



The shield without the cross occurs twice in the *Inglis* copy of the *Apocalypse*, pl. A; and thrice, surmounted with the cross, in the *Woodburn* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. E. We have not met with it elsewhere in the Block-Books. It occurs in the

Account Books at the Hague (Hemmeland), 1465, and is frequently found in books printed at Cologne, Louvain, Utrecht, and Gouda, see *Typographia Cent.* xv, Nos. 38, 39, 79, and 91. On the paper used by Caxton we find it; one, in the *Virgil* from his press, having a cross appended to it, of similar form to that above.

* These facts I note from the History of the Dukes of Burgundy written by my Father.

ARMS OF — ? The *Pembroke* copy of the first edition of the *Ars Moriendi* affords the only instance of this mark among the Block-Books.

SHIELDS OF ARMS, No. III.



It occurs among the numerous marks in the books printed by Veldener, see pl. Q., No. 2, an S there appearing over the O at the close of the name. We found the same mark in a copy of Eusebius, printed at Utrecht, by Ketelaer and Leempt, 1474. Jansen giving a full size tracing of it, No. 197, as a mark used by those printers.

A SPREAD EAGLE, THE ARMS PROBABLY OF THE DUKES OF BRIGA AND SILESIA.

SHIELDS OF ARMS, No. IV.



Albert, Duke of Bavaria, and 26th Earl of Holland, married Marguerita, daughter of the Duke of Briga. The Spread Eagle was, however, the arms of many of the Princes of Austria and Prussia. The mark occurs on three of the sheets of the *Rendorp* copy of the third edition of the *Speculum*, pl. I, No. 2. We have met with it in no other instance.

ARMS OF JOHN OF BAVARIA AS BISHOP OF LIEGE. John of Bavaria, on hearing of the death of his brother, Duke William, left Liege and came into Holland, under the pretence of becoming guardian to his niece Jacqueline, or, as some suggest, to marry her.

SHIELDS OF ARMS, No. V.



"He had been Bishop of Liege since the year 1390, but was expelled by the Liegeois for refusing to be consecrated as a churchman, but was reinstated by his late brother, with the assistance of John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, after a series of wars with the inhabitants.

"It would appear the Bishop not only preferred, but contemplated, a secular rather than a clerical life, since he resigned his bishopric into the hands of the Pope, and procured a dispensation to marry. Instead, however, of becoming guardian to his niece he obtained from the Emperor Sigismund (his wife's uncle)

the countries of Holland and Zealand in fealty and homage, together with the

Seignory of Friezeland as devolving to the empire by the death of William his brother.

"He left Liege in September 1417, and took up his residence in Dordrecht, and with the assistance of the Cabbilaux faction got himself inaugurated at the Hague, in June 1418, as Governor of Holland, &c., in opposition to his niece. He had also drawn the Seigneur of Arckel into his services, whom we have before mentioned as the enemy of his brother.

"He likewise assumed the title of Count of Hainault, Holland, &c., and continued to carry on war in Holland against his niece with various success until his death, some time in 1424 (10th January, 1425, by poison.)*



Though we have not met with the shield in the margin in any of the Block-Books, we notice it, because it is found in so many of the books issued in the Netherlands, accompanied with marks similar to those we are describing. In the *Fasciculus Temporum*, pl. Q, a tracing of it occurs. We have before observed that the fleur-de-lis was used as the Arms of the city of Lisle.

ARMS OF BAVARIA, appended to the letters *M A.* for MARGARET of BAVARIA, the mother of Philip Duke of Burgundy. She was Countess of Hainault and Holland. She married, in 1385, John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, and died in 1426.

ARMED BY ARMS, No. 71.



It is found in three of the sheets of the *Harlem* copy of the fourth edition of the *Speculum*.

The Arms of Bavaria also occur attached to the stem of the cross surmounting the Head of the Bull, as found in the *Harlem* copy of the same edition of the same book. As it occurs with the mark containing the Arms of Bavaria, coupled with the letters *M A.*, it may have reference to the husband of Margaret, John the Intrepid. On the silver coin† of John Duke of Brabant, the husband of Jacqueline, are the Horns of the Bull surmounting his helmet. In other of his coins‡ the single fleur-de-lis appears in the field. Both marks are on the paper used by Veldener for his *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed at Utrecht, see pl. Q, and occasionally in books printed in the Low Countries.

* Extract from the History of the Dukes of Burgundy by my Father.

† Penninek-Bocck. *Leyden*, 1597, pl. xii.

‡ *Ibid.*, pl. xi.

THE ARMS OF FRANCE. Our first tracing is from the *Spencer* copy of the *Saliceto*, pl. P. Had we been able to make a perfect tracing of the shield of arms in the *Chatsworth* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, we have no doubt it also would have turned out to be the Arms of France. The second tracing is from a copy of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, printed by Caxton, where the shield sometimes occurs without the label appended to it.



In a collection of paper-marks formed by the late antiquarian, Joseph Ames, we find the same arms, with the initials *J.* and *B.* attached to the garter, one letter on either side, Mr. Ames noting that it was taken from "a blank leaf bound up with a copy of *Justinian's Institutes*, 147—." The initials are probably intended for those of John Duke of Brabant, as previously mentioned, p. 39.



In the *Typographia Cent.* xv. pl. I, No. 37, these arms occur, with the initials *J. P.* appended to them. This is evidently accidental, arising from the circumstance of the letter *B.* having been turned upsido down when affixing it to the garter or to the sieve.

In noticing the *Mariette* copy (made up with twelve leaves of another edition) of what Heineken considers the second edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, he adds in a note* the following observation respecting the marks:—

"J'ajouterai ici la remarque de Mr. Mariette sur le papier de son exemplaire. Il porte, dit-il, quatre marques différentes. Une des feuilles a une tête de bœuf qu'on trouve assez souvent sur les papiers des anciennes éditions. Deux autres ont la marque cy à côté. Le plus grand nombre est un écu aux armes de France, et les six feuilles sur lesquelles sont imprimées les douze planches d'un travail différent du reste, sont marquées d'une ancre de navire. De ce qu'une bonne partie du papier est aux armes de France, il seroit peu raisonnable d'en inférer, que l'édition ait été faite en France: et si je suis entré dans ce détail, par rapport au papier, c'est par une pure curiosité, et pour ne rien omettre."

It is only in this and another instance that Heineken has made any allusion to the paper-marks in the various copies of the Block-Books that have come under his personal observation. In this case it is evident that he only did so in consequence of Mariette calling his attention to the marks in his copies of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Ars Moriendi*, as will be more particularly noticed when referring to those

* Heineken, "Idée d'une Collection d'Estampes," p. 318, note.

marks. Mariette no doubt agreed with the opinion of Heineken, that the paper used for those copies was made in France. So likewise M. Bernard, on finding that the copy he examined of the "*Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*"* contained, on some of the leaves, a similar water-mark, supports his previous views respecting the maker of the type and the royal editor of the book, Philip Duke of Burgundy, by that fact. He states, vol. ii, p. 365, "Ce livre ayant été écrit par ordre du duc, il est tout naturel de penser qu'il a aussi été imprimé aux frais de ce prince. Voici un fait qui me semble corroborer cette opinion. Le papier employé à l'impression du livre de Raoul présente dans son filigrane deux signes seulement, et tous deux sont étrangers aux fabriques allemandes ; l'un reproduit l'écusson ordinaire de France à trois fleurs de lis surmonté d'une couronne ; l'autre un P gothique dont la haste se termine au bas en forme de fourche, et dont le haut est surmonté d'un espèce de fleur à quatre feuilles égales ayant la forme du trèfle. Les éditeurs fournissant généralement leur papier, ainsi que nous l'avons vu déjà, ne peut-on pas en conclure que celui de la première édition du Recueil de Raoul fut tiré de France, et peut-être même en partie fabriqué au compte du duc Philippe, dont la lettre initiale aurait été placée pour cela même dans le filigrane ? Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que ses signes ne paraissent pas dans le papier de l'édition anglaise, imprimée après la mort du duc. On y trouve seulement un grappo de raisin, marque très-commune dans les livres imprimés en Allemagne, et qu'on voit déjà dans la Bible de Gutenberg."

We will not here write, that in support of his opinions, M. Bernard "*a présenté une hypothèse bien plus extraordinaire encore*," in respect to the paper-marks.

If M. Bernard had examined various copies of books printed in England by Caxton, he would have found, that, among the many marks on the paper used for books, the P was not at all an uncommon mark, as well as the Shield with the Arms of France. Among our tracings of the marks in "*The Myrroure of the Worlde*," Chaucer's "*Canterbury Tales*," and Higden's "*Polychronicon*," all printed by Caxton, we have both marks frequently occurring. The mere fact of finding that in some accounts (as related by M. Bernard, vol. ii, p. 247,) of the charges for the printing of certain books at Florence in 1479 and 1480, the charge for the paper was not included, is scarcely sufficient authority for him to justify an opinion that a portion of the paper used for the *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes* was supplied by the Duke of Burgundy, who he considers was the editor of the work, and, as such, supplied the paper. We feel sure, that when M. Bernard devotes but a very small portion of time to the examination of water-marks in proportion to that given to his work on the Rise and Progress of Printing in Europe during the Fifteenth Century, he will allow that the hypothesis he puts forth in respect to the *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes* having been

* M. Bernard, vol. ii. p. 364, considers that work to have been printed by Ulric Zell, and not by Caxton ; and further believes the type used to have been made by a Frenchman : "Pour moi, à voir la forme des types du *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, je suis convaincu qu'ils sont l'œuvre d'un Français."

the work of a Frenchman, under the editorship of Philip Duke of Burgundy, is not borne out or corroborated by the marks on the paper used for the printing of that work.

We have no doubt that France obtained a great portion of its paper from the Netherlands. In our *Typographia Cent.* xv, will be found many of the marks in the productions of the presses of Paris, Lyons, and Strasburg, though the paper used in the latter place was often of German manufacture, particularly that in the works printed by Mentellin. Nor are we surprised at finding the Arms of France used as a water-mark in connection with those of the House of Burgundy; the dominions (Champagne and Brie) of the Duke bordering so closely upon those of France, independent of the Dukes of Burgundy, of Brabant, of Bavaria, and other Burgundian alliances quartering those Arms. The Dukedom of Burgundy fell to the Kings of France by escheat, for want of male heirs, 1483, at the death of Mary the wife of Maximilian.

BUCKLE OR BROOCH!

This is the only mark in the *Spencer** copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*. We have not met with it in any other of the Block-Books, or in any printed book. Among the many marks that we found in a copy of the first edition of *Dante*, printed at Foligno by Numeister, in 1472, was that of a *Brooch*, which is also the only instance we have met with of that device. See *Typographia Cent.* xv., No. 82.



HEAD OF THE BULL, OR OX,

A UNIVERSAL SYMBOL OR TOKEN OF DEATH.

Robert de Bethuen, Count of Nevers, used three bulls' heads as his private seal†, 1274. Lewis of Cressy, Count of Flanders, who was killed at the battle of Cressy, 1346, wore a helmet surmounted with a bull's head with horns, as an emblem of death‡. Such also appeared on his private seal. It is related by Buchanan, in his history of Scotland§, speaking of the sixth Earl of Douglas, that, "in that very moment of time, the Regent (Alexander Levingstone) came in too; for so it was agreed, that the whole weight of so great envy might not lye on one man's shoulders only. Douglas (William, sixth Earl, and son of Archibald) was kindly received, and admitted to the King's table; but, in the midst of the feast, some armed men beset him, being weaponless, and put a bull's head upon him, which, in these times, was a messenger and sign of death."

* Owing to the blank pages of the leaves being so closely pasted, we could with difficulty trace the mark.

† *Vredii Sigillum Comitum Flandrie Inscrptiones*, p. 51. *Brugis Flandria*, 1639.

‡ *Id.* *Id.* p. 55, plate 24.

§ Buchanan's *Scotland*. *Fal.*, 1690.

John, Duke of Brabant, who married Jacqueline of Holland, used, as an emblem of power, the horns of the bull on his helmet, as seen in the coins* issued in his dominions.

The Bull's head, accompanied with a bunch of Grapes, is the symbol found on the coins of the Island of Naxos, on account of its wines being the finest produced in the Greek Islands. Surmounted by the *Rose*, it was used on the coins issued by the Popes.

As a Mark upon paper, we believe it to be one of the earliest and most frequently used; so much so, that our collection of tracings from Manuscripts and Printed Books is of such infinite variety, that we are almost bewildered in the selection. We have, however, selected four from those given by Jansen, he having distinctly stated that every mark traced by him in his plates was taken from paper used for manuscripts bearing dates†. These four‡ he states to be the earliest heads he had met with.



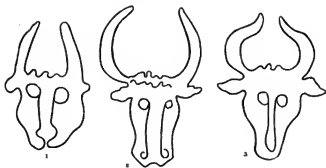
No. 1, Jansen states to be of the date 1310. It being, as he mentions, above three inches in height, it must belong to the larger marks; as does also No. 2, which he gives as of the year 1311-12. We have met with no marks of the *Head of the Bull* of so early a date. No. 3, of 1324, also belongs to the same class, Jansen stating it to be nearly four inches in height. The head of this particular form, and having a circle over the forehead, we have not before seen; nor that of singular form, No. 4, of the date 1348. Nearly all the marks given by Jansen are of reduced size, which, for the purpose of comparison, is not satisfactory.

We now proceed to take the mark through its several *species*, of each of which we will give tracings from marks in dated Manuscripts, noting by the way the instances where similar ones are found in the various copies of the Block-Books we have examined.

* Penninck-Boeck. *Leyden*, 1597.

† "Mais comme il s'agissoit principalement d'indiquer avec exactitude les dates, je ne me suis servi que de ceux que j'ai trouvés dans les papiers de comptes dont l'année étoit bien certaine."

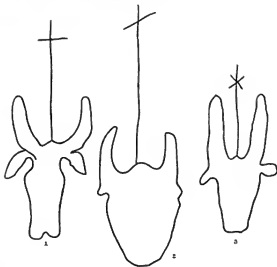
‡ *Id.* *ib.* pp. 363-365, 370.



The above tracings are from Books of Accounts at the Hague, No. 1 (North Holland), 1354; No. 2 (Voorne), 1384-5; No. 3 (Counts of Holland), 1362.

We have not met with any of these marks, nor marks of similar size and character, after about the commencement of the fifteenth century. Among the Archives in the Tower is a letter to the Bishop of Winchester (1414-17), having a mark somewhat resembling No. 2. There are no similar marks in any of the Block-Books.

We have many tracings of the *Head of the Bull* without any indication of the eyes or nostrils, as in the specimens subjoined.



The preceding three tracings are taken from Manuscripts of about the first third of the fifteenth century, though they were, no doubt, used much earlier. Here we feel the want of being able to give a specimen taken from dated Manuscripts. Some of our tracings of this species of head are of a much larger size.

The next in chronological order assume a somewhat grotesque form, from among which we select the following:



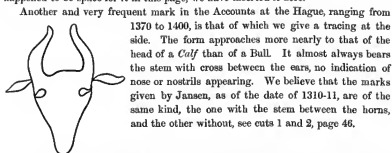
No. 1 is from the Book of Accounts of the Duke Albrecht (1401-3); No. 2, from an Account Book at Harlem ("Harlemer Bosch"), 1410. No. 3, from Accounts at the Hague (Schonhoven), 1446, the mark, with variations, occurring frequently in the accounts from 1428 to about 1450. No. 4 is from a letter in the Tower of London. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1443-50).

In the *Pembroke* copy of the *Apocalypse*, pl. C, we have a mark somewhat similar to No. 3. The mark on fol. 45 (pl. H.) in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Speculum* is of this species. It does not occur very frequently in the accounts at the Hague. There is one instance, of the date of 1466. We find it in the *Ren-dorp* copy of the third edition of the *Speculum*, pl. I. In the *Spencer* copy of the *Ludovicus de Roma*, pl. O, are three varieties; and occasionally they are found in books printed in the Low Countries, as also in Germany.

Another kind, equally grotesque, are the following, though not extending to so many varieties, at least as far as we can judge from the instances we have met with.



No. 1 is from Accounts at the Hague (Schoonhoven), 1424-5; No. 2, of several varieties ("*Harlemer Bosch*"), 1429-30, 1432, 1433, and 1434; No. 3, from the Church Register at Harlem, 1422-3, and 1426. No. 4 is from the Accounts from South Holland, 1445-6: it belongs rather to the class of heads last mentioned; but, as there happened to be space for it in this page, we have inserted it here.



Another and very frequent mark in the Accounts at the Hague, ranging from 1370 to 1400, is that of which we give a tracing at the side. The form approaches more nearly to that of the head of a *Calf* than of a Bull. It almost always bears the stem with cross between the ears, no indication of nose or nostrils appearing. We believe that the marks given by Jansen, as of the date of 1310-11, are of the same kind, the one with the stem between the horns, and the other without, see cuts 1 and 2, page 46.

Of the following species, we have not as yet met with any instance before the commencement of the fifteenth century, though Jansen gives one, pl. xii. No. 6, very similar to No. 4 following, as of date 1397.



Nos. 1, 2, and 3, are frequently found in the Account Books at the Hague and Harlem, ranging in date from about 1430 to 1460. They are of the same species as those occurring in the *Spencer* copy of the *Apocalypse*, which particular mark we think to be of an earlier date than those given, Nos. 1 and 2. Those of nearly similar form to No. 3 are constantly found in works printed by John de Westphalia, at Louvain, also at Antwerp. In No. 4 we see a very similar mark to that in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Speculum*, which, like the one preceding, occurs in no other copies of the Block-Books as yet seen by us; the mark is, however, frequently found in the earliest productions of Ulric Zell, and is quite of a different species from that in the *Mazarine* Bible, and in the productions of the Mentz printers.

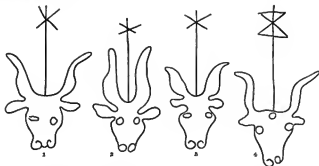
The calf-like head in the *Pembroke* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F., and also in the *British Museum* copy of the same, is not of frequent occurrence, though we find it in the *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed at Utrecht by Veldener. We have tracings of very similar marks in books from the press of Valdazar, at Milan.

We now arrive at the mark of the Head of the Bull more often adopted by the paper-makers during the fifteenth century. Accompanied with a bunch of grapes it is the emblem of the fertility (as we have before stated, p. 46) of the island of Naxos. These two marks appear on the paper used for the *Mazarine* Bible; and as that is considered to be the first production of Printing in Germany, "after the invention of the art had undergone a scrutiny of ten years," these marks have met with more than ordinary notice at the hands of Jansen. Accordingly, in the following extract from his work (p. 337), we find that he (agreeing in the opinion of M. Breitkopf) considered the *Head of the Bull*, of that particular form, as the means of distinguishing the books printed by Fust. He states:—

"Cependant pour satisfaire, autant qu'il depend de nous, la curiosité des curieux sur ce point, nous dirons, avec M. Breitkopf, que la Tête de bœuf, que les bibliographes ont, jusqu'à présent, regardée comme le plus sûr indice pour reconnaître les premiers livres imprimés par Faust, en est une preuve d'autant plus certaine que ce n'étoit que la marque d'une espèce de papier fort estimé dans les premiers temps de l'invention de l'imprimerie en Allemagne, où elle a été généralement employée avec de légers changemens, tant pour les manuscrits que pour les premiers livres imprimés. La simple Tête de bœuf appartenoit certainement à l'Allemagne; mais comme d'autres papetiers l'imitèrent ensuite, chacun y ajouta quelque ornement pour indiquer sa manufacture. C'est là sans doute ce qui a donné lieu aux tiges qui s'élèvent entre les cornes, et qui sont garnies tantôt d'une croix, tantôt d'une rose, d'une couronne, d'un serpent, &c."

Had the Bull's Head alluded to and the bunch of grapes appeared for the first time when the *Mazarine* Bible was issued, we might be inclined to think that they were intended as a symbol of the wine country surrounding the city of Mentz, wherein the Bible, and the productions of Fust, were printed. The fact, however,

of finding this peculiar Bull's Head so frequent in the Book of Accounts at the Hague forwarded from all parts of Holland, ranging in dates from 1430 to 1445, as also the Bunch of Grapes occasionally in Accounts and Manuscripts dated from 1441 to 1445, prove that they were in use in the Low Country paper, and no doubt also in the paper made in Germany at an earlier period than that when Fust commenced printing. Besides which, they are not the *only* marks occurring in the paper used by John Fust and his partner Schoeffer, or even by their supposed predecessor Gutenberg. We have in our collections, the *P.*, the *Bull*, the *Double Key*, the *Cross Keys*, the *Shield* with "*Lile*" within it, the *Three Mounts*, all from the books printed by Fust and Schoeffer; and no doubt many others, if more of those volumes were examined, might be found.



Tracings Nos. 1 and 2 are from Account Books at the Hague; the one dated 1430, and the other 1443-4. Many of the marks vary slightly in form. No. 3 is from a copy of the *Mazarine Bible*, and No. 4 from the Bible of 1462, issued by Fust and Schoeffer.

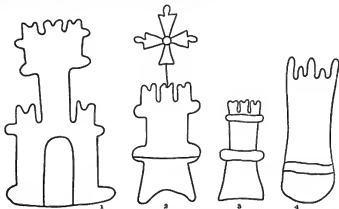
The Head in the *Inglist* copy of the *Apocalypse*, pl. A., though of coarser make, belongs to the same species; so also those in the *Bohn* copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. D. Those in the *Cracherode* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum* are of different form, while that of the *Harlem* copy of the same agrees with the others, as do those in the second and third editions of the *Speculum*. In the books printed by Caxton it constantly occurs with the double cross, as in the Fust and Schoeffer Bible of 1462. It was, no doubt, a common mark in German and Dutch paper during the fifteenth century, and later.

We have now noted all the various species of the *Bull's Head* mark that occur in the Block-Books of Holland and the Low Countries. The closing remark in the preceding extract from Jansen has reference more particularly to the ornaments which occur in that larger and peculiarly formed Head of the Bull which is found

on the paper used for some of the Block-Books issued in Germany, in the Books printed by Albert Pfister at Bamberg, by Gunther Zainer at Strasburg, and also by many of the printers in Italy during the fifteenth century.

A CASTLE or TOWER.

It appears to have been used at a very early period. We find it in the Account Books at the Hague, in German manuscripts, and in the printed productions of Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.



No. 1 is the constant mark in some additional sheets to the "*Registrum Domini Henrici Popponis, A. L. Ducis 27 Wilhelmi, 1354, Cas. C.*," among the Archives at the Hague, those leaves bearing the date 1357. No. 2 is from a manuscript we met with some years since, dated 1440. Without the cross above, it is very like those in the *Lucca* and *Botfield* copies of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F.

Nos. 3 and 4 are also from manuscripts dated 1436 and 1440. Of another form it is found in the edition of Dante, printed by Vindelia de Spira, at Venice, 1477, *Typographia, Cent. XV, No. 73*. Jansen gives three tracings of the Castle mark, of a different shape, from books printed at Nuremburg and Basle, 1472.

CATHARINE WHEEL.

THE ARMS OF THE EARLS OF OSTREVAULT, viz. three Catharine wheels or, on a shield azure*. It was the first title of the eldest branch of the Counts of Holland, as *Charalois* was that of the Dukes of Burgundy. Philip Duke of Burgundy, therefore, was entitled to the Arms as the Earl of that Seigniorship.

* Paillet, *La Vrai Science des Armoiries*, etc., 1600, fol., p. 576.

However, on the private marriage, in 1433, of François de Borselle with Jacqueline of Holland, he bestowed on him, for life only, the Earldom of Ostrevant, making him, at the same time, a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Jacqueline renounced all claim, during the life of the Duke of Burgundy, to the Lordships of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland; but on her death, in 1436, the Seigniorship of these countries reverted to the Duke of Burgundy.

The "*Registrum Commiss. Burgundie*," at the Hague, affords the earliest instance



we have met with of this mark. The papers in that volume range from 1428 to 1453; and it is from one of the early sheets that the annexed tracing is copied. In an autograph letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1443-50), in the Tower of London, occurs a mark of very similar form. It is one of the many marks that are found in the *Harlem* copy of the fourth edition of the *Speculum*.

It is not an unfrequent mark in the printed books of the fifteenth century,



though with various ornaments affixed to the upper part. In a copy of the "*Foyt of Armes*," from the press of Caxton, we find it with a *mullet of five points*. In a book printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1495, it appears with *three cinquefoils*, and also with a *circle* and three small ones above. The tracing at side is from a warrant signed by Henry VIII. of England, dated 1510. We believe the mark to have been in constant use during the sixteenth century.

ST. PETER'S COCK.

THE COCK, the Duck, the Swan, the Pelican, the Eagle, and other birds, were occasionally used as marks during the fifteenth century. That on the side is the only instance we have met with on paper during the fourteenth century. It occurs in a thin Book of Accounts (Voorne) at the Hague, bearing date 1390.



The subjoined mark is from an Account Book among the Archives at Harlem. It is dated 1442-5. That occurring in the *Bodleian* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* is of another form. We have not met with the mark in any other of the Block-Books. Jansen gives a tracing of one, No. 213, which he found in a book printed at Cologne by Ther Hoernen about 1471.



THE HAND.

THE HAND WAS THE SYMBOL OF FAITH, FEALTY, ALLEGIANCE, AND ALLIANCE. With the thumb and two forefingers elevated, the hand was used by the Pope in giving the Papal Benediction. It represents also, under that form, the symbol of the Holy Trinity.

It may be likewise termed "*The Hand of Justice*." Montfaucon, in the first volume of his *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*, gives a representation of the various kinds of sceptres used in the consecration of the kings of France, among which is the Hand with the thumb and the two forefingers elevated. It is there designated as the "*Hand of Justice*." The same author also observes that "*THE HAND is, in a particular manner, a symbol of faith given or kept, as we often find upon medals*." This likewise a mark of Concord between Princes and People, of which kind many occur in medals, where sometimes two and sometimes three hands are joined together."

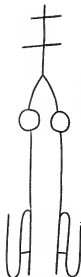
As a mark upon paper, the *Hand* is to be found in frequent use in the printed productions of the fifteenth century. As, however, we have before noticed the mark in our preliminary observations to this volume, we will confine ourselves to that particular hand* occurring in the *Harlem* copy of the fourth edition of the *Sperulum* (pl. X). There we have a mark which we do not believe existed before the year 1430. It not only represents the symbol of allegiance, but we believe the five hearts forming the gauntlet to be symbolical of the Five Heiresses† whose possessions fell by marriage and alliance to Philip Duke of Burgundy. He possessed five Dukedoms, independent of many of his other territories. Some years since the late Mr. Bohn‡ lent us a volume of drawings of early seals, the greater portion relating to the Low Countries, wherein we found one of Philip Duke of Burgundy, in the field of which were five crowns, evidently emblematical of his five Dukedoms, his helmet being surmounted by a *fleur-de-lis*.

* Those on pl. M. are differently formed, and the tracings less distinct, arising, we think, from the marks themselves having got injured.

† If the House of Austria was considered fortunate in their "six happy marriages," as mentioned by historians, and shewn by Anderson (Tab. cccxx. p. 466), the second House of Burgundy was not less successful. The possessions of the five heiresses gave to Philip (the Good) the extensive territories and imperious power he at this time possessed; all of which, the Duchy of Burgundy excepted, passed to the House of Austria by the

KEYS.

DOUBLE KEY. The Pope is frequently represented, when seated in the papal chair, as holding in the one hand a sword, and in the other Two Keys; the latter intended, no doubt, as symbolical of the Keys of St. Peter. The tracing at the side is from a mark on some of the leaves in the *Registrum Domini Henrici Popponis*, A. L. 27, *Ducis Wilhelmi*, 1353, *Cus. C.*, preserved at the Hague, the writing therein bearing date 1356. It was the only instance of the mark in the Archives at the Hague, nor have we met with it elsewhere.



marriage of Mary, his granddaughter, with the Emperor Maximilian. Burgundy was seized by Louis XI. of France as an escheat, for want of heir male, on the death of Charles the Bold.

The marriages of five heiresses by the House of Burgundy are as follows (see Anderson, pp. 354-362):

ISOLANTA, *Heiress of Nevers*, daughter of Eudo of Burgundy, died 1280. = married **ROBERT III.** of Bethune, Count of Flanders.

MARY, *Heiress of Rethel*, daughter of the famed Count of Rethel. = married **LEWIS** of Nevers; who died in 1322, two months before his father.

MARGARET, *Heiress of Burgundy and Artois*, daughter of Philip V. (Longue) King of France, and Johanna daughter of Otto IV. Palatin of Burgundy. = married **LEWIS** of Cressy, who got Flanders, and in right of his mother obtained Nevers and Rethel.

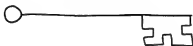
MARGARET, *Heiress of Flanders*, and youngest daughter of John III. Duke of Brabant and Limburg. She got Antwerp for her dowry. = married **LEWIS III.** (Malanus), last Count of Flanders.

JOHANNA, Margaret's sister, was *Heiress of Brabant and Limburg*.

After the death of her second husband, Wencestaus, and his son, she constituted, in 1404, Anthony Duke of Burgundy her heir. He had two sons. John, husband of Jacqueline Duchess of Hensault, &c. and Philip, whose possessions fell to the House of Burgundy, both dying without children.

MARGARET III., daughter of Lewis III., and *Heiress of Flanders and the whole of the above-mentioned dominions* (except Brabant and Limburg), = married **PHILIP AUDAX**, the first Duke of Burgundy of the second line.

‡ I have tried every means to trace this volume, which, at the time of the death of my old friend, Mr. Bohn, was among his stock of books. I fear it was overlooked, and sold with the residue of his books in Chancery-lane.



THE SINGLE KEY, as above, is equally uncommon. It is found in the Books of Accounts of the "Comtes de Blois" at the Hague, the documents ranging from 1373 to 1375.

TWO KEYS CROSSED, of very similar form to the single one preceding, are met with in the Accounts at the Hague (Heusden), 1358-9, and of a smaller size in the "Comtes de Blois" Accounts from 1373 to 1375.

Two Keys crossed, within a circle, is also a mark equally uncommon. We find it in various accounts at the Hague, dated 1410 and 1411, and also (Heusden) 1437 to 1439.



THE CROSS KEYS, as below, are found among the Hague Account Books (South Holland), 1440 and 1441. Within a Shield they form the Arms of Leyden, and as such they are found occasionally engraved on the last page of books printed in that city. We have in our collection a fac-simile of the woodcut on the final page of "*Miraculen von onzer vrouwen Maria*," there published in 1503, wherein the Shield with the two Keys occurs.



The similar mark of the *Two Keys joined*, as found in the Woodburn copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and in the Harlem copy of the fourth edition of the *Speculum*, occurs in the *Puttle* and *Voorne* Accounts at the Hague, dated from 1459 to 1465. It is also occasionally found in books printed by Ulric Zell, see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, No. 95, where it is associated with several other marks, including one of the Pope seated in his chair and holding in his hand a key; and another, evidently Papal, of a Shield with the Key and Sword within it. In the Heber copy of the *Augustinus de Arte Predicandi*, printed at Mentz, by Fust, it was the only mark; so also in Dr. Kloss's copy of the same book. We have not as yet found it in any of the books attributed to the press of Gutenberg.

The Cross Keys were the arms assumed by many of the early Bishops; and were those of Pope Nicolas V, who ascended the pontifical chair in 1447. They occur in the Bible of 1462, printed at Mentz by Fust and Schoeffer. So also in books printed at Louvain, Utrecht, and other places in the Netherlands.

AGNUS DEI, THE LAMB OF GOD, OR THE PASCHAL LAMB.

This is one of the very early marks, and was continued in use during the fifteenth century, and, no doubt, to a much later period.

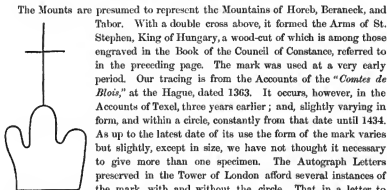
The Pascal Lamb was the Arms of Rouen (Rothomagi). It was also the Arms assumed by many of the Bishops. In the "*Concilium büch geschehen zu Constenz*," printed at Augsburg by Ant. Sorg, we find it as the Arms of "*Joannes Episcopus Azcensis in regno Castelle*."



Our first specimen is from a packet of paper at the Hague, containing various writings (as Mr. Ottley notes) *circa* 1356. He does not appear to have met with the same mark elsewhere, though one somewhat similar, but without the nimbus, occurs in the Accounts of the "*Comtes de Blois*," dated 1376 and 1377. No. 2 is from a thin volume ("W. 9") at the Hague, containing Accounts dated 1403 and 1404. No. 3 is from the Accounts of the Abbey of Vander Lee, dated 1436. No. 4, from a Book of Accounts (H. 18) from 1438 to 1445, the paper bearing the mark being dated 1439. No. 5 is from a volume of Accounts intitled "*Borsselen diversa, Cas. L.*," dated 1470. No. 6 is from a manuscript dated Nuremburg, 1487.

In only two of the various Block-Books have we found the *Agnus Dei* mark, namely, the *Woodburn* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. E., and the *Bodleian* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*. It is not, however, an uncommon mark in books printed at Utrecht, Delft, and Cologne; see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 59, 66, 73, and 79. In No. 88 we have an instance of the similar mark being used at Alta Villa (Eltille), a town near Mentz, in a copy of the "*Vocabularius Latino-Teutonicus*," there printed by Henry Bechtermuntze, in 1469, with the same type as that used in the *Catholicon* of 1460, supposed to have been printed by Gutenberg.

THE THREE MOUNTS, WITH CROSS.—THE ARMS OF BOHEMIA.



The Mounts are presumed to represent the Mountains of Horeb, Beraneck, and Tabor. With a double cross above, it formed the Arms of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, a wood-cut of which is among those engraved in the Book of the Council of Constance, referred to in the preceding page. The mark was used at a very early period. Our tracing is from the Accounts of the "*Comtes de Blois*," at the Hague, dated 1363. It occurs, however, in the Accounts of Texel, three years earlier; and, slightly varying in form, and within a circle, constantly from that date until 1434. As up to the latest date of its use the form of the mark varies but slightly, except in size, we have not thought it necessary to give more than one specimen. The Autograph Letters preserved in the Tower of London afford several instances of the mark, with and without the circle. That in a letter to the Bishop of Exeter (1397-1400) corresponds very closely to those on leaves *a* and *c* in the *Woodburn* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* in the Print Department in the British Museum. In the MS. volume, "*Consilia*," &c., noticed under the mark of the *Unicorn Rearing*, we find an instance of the Crescent surmounting the Mounts.

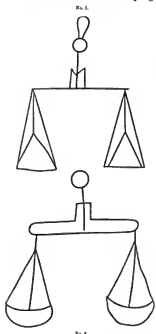
The mark appears to have been very generally used in books printed in the Fifteenth Century in Italy and Germany. See *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 22, 47, 58, 82, 83. We have not met with it in the books printed in the Netherlands. On the paper of an Italian MS. of the fifteenth century, we found one of a similar kind, above six inches in height, the base composed of six ascending mounts, the stem surmounted with a crown.

A PAIR OF SCALES. AN EMBLEM OF JUSTICE.

A constant and ever varying mark in the Account Books at the Hague, from as early as 1359 to 1431. The mark may be classed as of two forms, one with the lower part of the scales triangular, and the other round. Our tracings give the earliest specimens we have met with, the one, 1357, and the other, 1359. In an Autograph Letter (in the Tower of London) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from Norwich (1453), is one of smaller size than the tracing, No. 1. Among the marks on the paper used for the documents in "The Strasburg Process," is the Scales, of a round but wider form than No. 2.

The Scales is the only mark that occurs in the *Bodleian* (Sykes) copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*. We do not find it in the printed productions of the Low Countries.

It is a very common mark, when *within a circle*, in books printed at Venice and at Rome; the form of the upper presenting an endless variety of ornaments or emblems, such as the cross, the star, the circle, &c., of which many examples are given in the *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 30, 42, 43, 48, 56, 60, 68, and 72.



A STAR, RADIATED, WITH INSCRIPTION IN CENTRE.

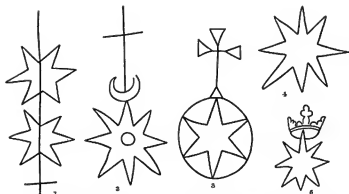
The only instance of this mark that we have met with, is in two of the sheets of the *Bohn* copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. D., all the other sheets containing the small Head of the Bull. We are quite unable to make out the inscription in the centre.

A STAR or MOON radiated was the Arms of Pope Alexander V., who was elected to the pontifical chair, 1409.

Jansen gives only three marks, Nos. 270, 271, and 272, as specimens of those on the paper used at Naples by M. Moravus, one of which is a radiated Moon or Sun, as at side of text. It is the only instance that we have met with. The Star, with various devices, occurs as marks at an early period, of which various specimens are given in the ensuing page.



STARS.



No. 1, the *Double Star*, is from the Heusden Accounts at the Hague, 1375-6; the only other mark in the same Accounts is that of the *Lion of Holland*. In no other Accounts at the Hague, at least as far as our specimens enable us to judge, does the Double Star occur. No. 2 is from the Accounts of the Counts of Holland during the years 1409 and 1410; and it occurs again in the Accounts of Arkel for the years 1421 and 1422. In the Accounts of Arkel from 1419 to 1421 is a larger Star, with plain stem and cross above. No. 3 is from the Amsterdam Accounts of 1381 and 1382. The plain Star, No. 4, is from the *Offices of Cicero*, printed at Louvain by John de Westphalia. In the paper of the copy whence it was taken are found no less than twenty-one different marks, chiefly of those used in the Block-Books. See *Typographia Cent. XV.*, pl. Z., where they are all given in fac-simile.

No. 5 has been traced merely to shew that the Star mark, like most of the other marks, was used to a late period, our tracing being from the paper of a French MS. as late as the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The Rev. Samuel Denne, in his letter to the Antiquarian Society, 1795, states that "a Star of eight points within a double circle" was the device of John Tate, supposed to have been the first Paper-Maker in England, having a mill at Hertford during the reign of Henry VII.

THE UNICORN. AN EMBLEM OF STRENGTH.

The Unicorn was the Symbol of Power adopted by Philip Duke of Burgundy, and was used as the supporter to his armorial bearings.

Whether it was so used by earlier Princes of the House of Burgundy we cannot trace; but it is one of the earliest Paper-Marks as yet discovered, and appears under an infinite variety of forms, continuing in use on the paper manufactured in the Netherlands as late or later than the middle of the sixteenth century.

Monstrelet, in his account of the third marriage of the Duke of Burgundy with Ysabella, daughter of the King of Portugal, writes: "With regard to the various entertainments which were continued for about eight days, it would take too much time to detail them. Suffice it to say, that there was the greatest profusion of meats and wines, and representations of the *Unicorns* and other beasts", from which flowed rose-water, wines, and different liquors, for the entertainment of the guests at this feast."

Fabret, in his History of the Dukes of Burgundy, while alluding to the same event, states†: "On festina, on dansa huit jours et huit nuits desuite. On voyoit devant le Palais du Prince un Lion, qui couloit incessamment à tout le monde, un fontaine de vin de Rhin. Devant le Chapelle de la Cour un Cerf en couloit, du pié droit, une autre de vin de Baune. A l'entrée de la Cour, une *Licorne*, sur l'heure du diner, en couloit Cinq, savoir, d'eau rose, de Malvoisie, de vin de Rome, de Muscat, et d'Hippocras."

The Unicorn pouring forth *five* wines, as here mentioned, was no doubt emblematical of the possession, by the Duke of Burgundy, of the dominions of the Five Heiresses by his three marriages.

Of the reception of Ysabella of Portugal at Bruges, we learn‡ that "Dans le Palais qu'on appelloit ordinairement la Cour du Prince, que Philip le Hardi et Jean son fils avoient embelli, et augmentée considerable, on voyoit un Lion, un Cerf, et une *Licorne*, représentés au naturel, avec un artifice singulier."

Monstrelet§, in noticing the part taken by Philip Duke of Burgundy at the Coronation of Lewis XI. in 1461, relates, that, "In the dining hall of his hotel was placed a square sideboard, with four steps on each side, which at dinner time was covered with the richest gold and silver plate, and at the corners were *Unicorns* so finely done that they were surprising to behold."

At folio 124 of a volume of Drawings of Early Seals, lent to us by the late Mr.

* Monstrelet's Chronicles, vol. vi. pp. 325-6. Edition 1810.

† Fabret, Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, 2 tom., vol. i. p. 91, 12mo. Cologne, 1689.

‡ Histoire des Comtes de Flandres, 12mo. Hague, 1698.

§ Monstrelet's Chronicles, vol. x. p. 84. Edition 1810.

Bohn of Henrietta-street, is a seal of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, dated 1469, having in the lower part of the field the *Unicorn* hunted by a dog, as here given.



It is singular, that, in the work of Vredius, vol. iii. p. 94, the same seal is apparently engraved, omitting, however, the designating of the animal hunted as a *Unicorn*. Hence we should rather suspect the artist of being sceptical of the existence of such an animal. At folio 99 of the same volume of Drawings is another seal of the Duke of Burgundy, having in the field two greyhounds, one following a hare and two foxes.

Robertson, in his History of the Life of Charles V., vol. ii. p. 462, relates that Unicorns were still to be seen in the ancient tapestry that adorned the great Hall of the Palace at Brussels in 1555, when the Emperor Charles V. convoked an assembly of the Princes of the Low Countries to be present at the resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip.

This fact, related by Robertson, is confirmed in the tenth plate of a series of engravings of scenes during the wars of Charles V. in Africa*. The engraving there represents the Emperor formally resigning his dominions†. On either side of the hall, nearest the throne, the tapestry presents us with the Arms of the Duke of Burgundy, supported by a *Unicorn*, enclosed within the *Garden of Holland*, as is usually represented on the Seals and Coins of that country.

The following wood-engravings are faithful fac-similes of that portion of the print just mentioned.



Philip Duke of Burgundy appears to have taken every opportunity of displaying this, the predominant symbol of his power. In the centre of the left shield above is the *Fleur-de-lis*, and in the other the *Lion of Flanders*. "He exceeded all his

* A copy of these engravings was sold in the Library of B. H. Bright, Esq., 1845, No. 4549.

† "L'Empereur Charles V. cognoissant par la defaillance des forces corporelles approcher sa fin, fait assembler les Etats du Pais Bas, en la ville de Bruxelles, resigna la seigneurie et gouvernement des dits Pais entre les mains du Roy Philippe son filz et heritier, d'où bien tost après se partit, faisant voile en solitudes moodaines à ce de librement vacquer à la contemplation des choses divines l'an 1555, le 25 Octobre."

predecessors, Dukes of Burgondie, in riches, seignories, greatness of state and pompe: so as in his time there was no Christian prince that for his qualitie might be compared unto him. He took great pleasure to breed up and nourish sundry strange and wild beasts*."

In the preceding observations we have, with some historical authority, shewed that the all-powerful Philip Duke of Burgundy displayed a preponderant partiality for the representation of the Unicorn. Of all the paper-marks that we have met with, none have interested us more in our endeavour to discover the cause of its having been so employed. Believing, as we do, that one of the earliest paper manufactories was established in the Netherlands, under the special direction of the Dukes of Burgundy, we are not surprised at seeing the mark of the *Unicorn* as one of the earliest, and its continuance in prominent use until the close of the seventeenth century. The same love for the chase and for the rearing of all sorts of wild animals, was no doubt inherent in the Dukes of Burgundy from generation to generation. We daily see the same fondness for similar pursuits intuitively, as it were, continued from father to son; none more so than that of the sports of the field.

Descended, as we ourselves are, from one of the earliest families of Yorkshire, our arms being three Talbot hounds, with the huntsman's motto, "*Neck or nothing*" ("*ou bien ou rien*"), we have that innate feeling within us; so much so, that all our love for Literature and the Block-Books leaves us at the approach of the "*Sportman's Season*." As an instance of this, we may state, that, last September and October, when shooting and coursing in the neighbourhood of Old Sarum, we thought we could devote an hour or two in the morning of each day to the making an Index to our first volume, then printed: accordingly, ere we left our home, we diligently prepared a blank volume for that purpose,—blank, however, it came back. We found a combination of shooting, hunting, and the Block-Books, totally impossible, or at least not congenial with our then rustic pursuits.

Of all the wild animals, the figures of the Lion and the Unicorn make the earliest impression on the mind of a child. In no nursery throughout Great Britain are the doggerel verses,

"The Lion and the Unicorn fighting for the Crown,
The Lion bests the Unicorn all about the town;
Some gave them white bread, some gave them brown,
Some gave them plum-cake, and drove them out of town,"

unknown. Pictorially, as is the Unicorn (one of the supporters to our national arms*) represented in the form of a horse, cloven-footed, with long flowing mane, and uplifted horn rising from its forehead, the child forms a lasting impression of the

* *Generall Historie of the Netherlands.* By Ed. Grimston. Fol., 1687, p. 70.

† In the seals of Mary Queen of Scotland two Unicorns are represented as supporters to the arms of that country. James VI. of Scotland and First of England substituted a Lion in lieu of one of them. Thus the Lion and the Unicorn were first used in the national arms by James I.

fierceness of the animal, only to be obliterated by being told, in after life, that the Unicorn, of whose exploits he had sung, was a fabulous animal:

Our Unicorn 's a fable, now the learned say:
Such was not known by Adam, nor in Noah's day.

Taught to believe every line he reads in the Holy Scriptures as the unerring word of God, the youth is told that the animal so frequently mentioned in the Psalms of David, and in other parts of Scripture, as the "UNICORN" (*Reem* in the original Hebrew), was, according to modern authors, the ORYX*, an animal of the

* In support of this opinion the Rev. George Paxton, in his "*Illustrations of the Holy Scripture*," writes—
"ANTELOPE ORYX OF LINNÆUS, THE REEM OR UNICORN OF THE SCRIPTURES. The name of this animal, in the Hebrew text, is *Reem*, and is derived from a verb which signifies to be exalted or lifted up. This term, which in Hebrew signifies only height, is rendered by the Greek interpreters, *μωσχορ*, and by the Latins, *unicornis*; both which answer to our English word Unicorn. Moses, in his benediction of Joseph, states a most important fact, that it has *two horns*. The words are: His horns are like the horns of (a reem in the singular number) an unicorn. (*Deut. xxxiii. v. 17.*) The two sons of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh, had been adopted into the family of Jacob, and appointed the founders of two distinct tribes, whose descendants, in the times of Moses, were become numerous and respectable in the congregation. These were the two horns with which Joseph was to attack and subdue his enemies; and, by consequence, propriety required an allusion to a creature, not with one, but with two horns. In the Book of *Job*, the *Reem* is represented as a fierce and intractable animal, which, although possessed of sufficient strength to labour, sternly and pertinaciously refused to bend his neck to the yoke. (See Dr. Shaw's account of the Oryx, vol. ii. p. 314.) Our translators, following the Greek fathers, consider the *Reem* as a creature with one horn, and agreeably to this idea, render it Unicorn. But this interpretation is encumbered with insuperable difficulties. The Unicorn is a creature totally unknown in those countries where the Scriptures were written and the patriarchs sojourned. But is it probable that God himself, in his expostulation with *Job*, would take an illustration of considerable length from a creature with which the afflicted man was altogether unacquainted, and mention this unknown animal in the midst of those with which he was quite familiar? Nor is it to be supposed that Moses, David, and the Prophets, would so frequently speak of an animal unknown in Egypt and Palestine and the surrounding countries; least of all, that they would borrow their comparisons from it, familiarly mention its great strength, and describe its habits and dispositions. Had the Unicorn existed in any part of the East, it must have been discovered and brought to Rome, in order to be exhibited at the public shows. So numerous and diversified were the animals produced on the arena at their public entertainments, that Aristides, in his encomium of Rome, declared, 'All things meet here, whatsoever is bred or made; and whatsoever is not seen here is to be reckoned among those things which are not, nor ever were.' But, although these shows continued for many ages, not a single Unicorn was ever exhibited at Rome: a strong proof that no such animal ever existed.

"The character of the *Reem*, given in the Scriptures, will not apply to the rhinoceros. The *Reem*, it is evident, was equally well known to Moses and the Prophets, and the people whom they addressed, as the bullocks and the bulls with which they are mentioned. But the Rhinoceros inhabits the southern parts of Africa, and the remotest parts of the East beyond the Ganges, and could be still less known to the people of Israel than the elephant, which is not once mentioned in the Sacred Volume. Besides, the *Reem* has large horns; for, says the Psalmist, 'My horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of a Unicorn.' But the Rhinoceros has seldom more than one, and that of a small size, not exalted like the horn of a *Reem*, but turned back towards the forehead. Nor will the use to which the *Reem* applies his horns correspond with the manners of the rhinoceros. The former pushes with his horns, which must therefore be placed on his forehead; but the horn of the latter, which is placed on his nose, and bent backwards, is not formed for pushing, but for ripping up the trunks of the more soft and succulent trees, which constitute a part of the animal's food. The Author then goes on to shew that the *Reem* of the Old Testament Scriptures must be classed amongst the goats. This point the learned Bochart has decided by numerous quotations from the Arabian and other Eastern writers, in which the original word *Reem* is applied to a species of wild goat which inhabits the deserts of Palestine and the neighbouring regions.

antelope tribe, by no means uncommon among the numerous wild beasts that inhabit the plains of the interior of Africa, so lately visited by the great Lion-Slayer, Gordon Cumming*. His daring exploits and combats with the masters of the forests until then untrod by man, will probably be handed down by the natives of the "far interior" to a period when that portion of the earth may become civilized and densely peopled, and all traces of its former four-footed inhabitants effaced, their only remains being an occasional bone turned up to be submitted to a future Owen for reproduction by another Waterhouse Hawkins.

Having collected together the various notices that have appeared in print respecting the Unicorn, we will now proceed, after a few introductory words, to give some extracts from the writings of authors and travellers of bygone days, whose veracity must be taken *cum grano salis*, though perhaps equally deserving of credit with the relations of travellers of a later date.

Aristotle, Ælian, Isidorus, Dioscorides, Philostratus, Galen, Avicenna, and Pliny, all make mention of the Unicorn. In the "*De Generatione Christi*" Block-Book, of which the first page is given in fac-simile, pl. LXXIV., the first design represents "*The Unicorn leaping on a Virgin*." The same design occurs in the edition of a similar Block-Book previously noticed, vol. ii, p. 69, subject 51. In the early wood-engraving, known to the Collector of Prints under the title of "*The Annunciation*," a fac-simile of which we have given in our first volume, pl. XLVII., we find the same animal, though accompanied with various symbols. In our notice of that engraving we have stated the opinion of the late antiquarian, Francis Douce, who quotes St. Ambrose as an authority for what he there observes. We are inclined to think Mr. Douce intended to have cited Isidorus as his authority, the quotations under the design† in the two Block-Books having reference to his writings.

There is, says Oppian, a certain tenant of the forest, a beast with a sharp horn, the savage Oryx, extremely formidable to the wild beasts. He describes him as naturally an intrepid and warlike animal, that neither fears the fury of a dog, nor the rage of a wild boar; that shrinks not from the threatening voice of a bull, from the terrific yell of a leopard, nor the inflamed wrath of a lion. The size of the Oryx also seems to correspond with the brief notices which the inspired writers have given us of the Reem. He inhabits the solitudes of Africa, on the confines of Egypt, from whence he might easily make excursions into the deserts which border on the land of Canaan. He seems, indeed, to have been properly an Egyptian animal, and familiarly known to the inhabitants of that country. His character and habits must have been well known to the people of Israel, that sojourned for several centuries in Egypt, and spent their time chiefly in tending their flocks and herds in the pastures of Goshen, where they probably had many opportunities of meeting him, and many reasons, perhaps, to remember his strength and intrepidity. After their deliverance from the Egyptian yoke, they settled in a neighbouring country, and had occasional intercourse with Egypt. These facts account for the frequent mention of the Oryx under the name of the Reem in the Sacred Volume, and the interesting allusions to its dispositions and manners."

* Mr. Gordon Cumming considers the Rhinoceros to have been the Unicorn of the Scriptures. In the illustrated catalogue of his "Hunting Trophies" he states, p. 6, "the rhinoceros is supposed by many, and by myself among the rest, to be the animal alluded to by Job, chap. xxxix. verses 10 and 11, where it is written, 'Canst thou bind the Unicorn with his band in the furrow? or wilt he harrow the valleys after thee? Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great? or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?'"

† In editions of a work of similar import, published during the fifteenth century, the same design occurs.

As a symbol, attendant on a Virgin, the Unicorn was frequently used.



Annexed we give a fac-simile of an excessively rare print, the production of "The Master of 1466." Here the wild animal is represented in a state of perfect subjection to the Virgin; and it is endeavoured to be shewn by the artist, that the beast has the power of erecting or depressing his all-powerful horn at will. The Virgin holds in her left hand a Dove, the emblem of peace.

Montfaucon* gives a design on a gem representing a young Virgin, with her breast naked, sitting by a tree embracing a Unicorn. He then quotes Isidorus, part of which quotation informs us, that "The *Ninoceros*, called so in *Greek*, means in *Latin* a creature with a *horn on his nose*. The *Monoceros* in *Greek*; in *Latin*, *Unicornis*, Unicorn, is also so, because he hath but one horn, in the middle of his forehead, four feet long. This horn is so sharp and strong, that he can pierce or overturn anything with it. For this creature fights with the Elephant, runs him into the belly with his horn, and overthrows him. He is so fierce that no huntsman can take him; but, as we are assured by naturalists who have wrote of the nature of animals, they cause a young Virgin to go towards him with her breast bare, and the Unicorn, immediately losing all his fierceness, lays his head on her breast, falls asleep, as it were, and so is easily taken.

"Some doubt whether there is any such creature in nature as the Unicorn; but I think that is not to be questioned. *Cosmas*, the Egyptian monk, who lived in the time of the Emperor Justinian, and who travelled in Ethiopia, saw the Palace with four towers of the King of Ethiopia, and assures us he saw the skin of a Rhinoceros stuffed with straw, and saw several brass statues of Unicorns. From those he drew those he published in his *Topographia Christiana*, and which are very like these here. In both images there is a kind of beard below the under jaw. *Cosmas* owns he never saw a live Unicorn, but the people of the country assured him it is a very fierce and wild creature; and when he is pursued by the huntsmen, and cannot otherwise escape them, he throws himself headlong from vast precipices or rocks, and always lights on his horn, so as never to hurt himself by the fall.

"The Portuguese Jesuits, who have resided long in Ethiopia, gave the same accounts of the Unicorn, and say they have several times seen this creature alive; nay, have brought up a young Unicorn. I should think now there should be no doubt made of there being such an animal, yet some still will be incredulous."

Varthema, in his description of the Temple of Mecca, relates† that, "on the other side of the Temple are Parkes or places enclosed, where are seene two Unicorues,

* *Antiquity Explained*, by Humphreys, pl. 58, No. 8.

† Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, 1625, vol. ii. p. 1489.

and are here shewed to the people for a wonder. The one of them, which is much higher than the other, yet not much unlike to a Colt of thirtie moneths of age; in the fore-head groweth only one Horne, in manner right forth, of the length of three Cubits. The other is much younger, and like a young Colt of the age of one year; the horne of this is of the length of four spannes. This beast is of the colour of a Horse, of weesell colour, and hath the head like a Hart, but no long necke, and thinne mane hanging only on one side: their legs are thinne and slender, like a Fawne or Hind: the hoofes of the fore feet are divided into two, much like the feet of a Goat; the outward part of the hinder feet is very full of haire. This beast seemeth wild and fierce, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certain comeliness. These Unicornes onc gave to the Sultan of Mecha as a most precious and rare gift. They were sent him out of Ethiopia by a King of that country, who desired by that present to gratifie the Sultan of Mecha."

To this relation of Varthema, Purchas makes the following marginal note: "The only report that I have found in any credible author of Unicornes: neither in 120 yeares which have happened since, have I found one relation to second it. Some mention Unicornes, but understood the Rhinoceros."

The work* of Varthema has always been, and is considered, one of authority. In the seventh chapter of the "Briefe Relation of the Embassie which the Patriarch Don John Bermudez brought from the Emperor of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Prester John, and to Don John the third King of Portugal," the author states, "On the west side bordereth presently, with the *Gaffates*, whereof I spake before, the kingdom of *Damute*, which standeth upon the River of *Nilus*, there is found, in these countries, a kind of Unicorne, which is wild and fierce, fashioned like a Horse, and of the bignesse of an Asse."

Edward Webbe†, an Englishman who appears to have followed in the track of Varthema, gives an extraordinary account of the court of Prester John, and of the numerous Unicorns he there saw. He relates: "This Prester John, of whom I spake to you, is a king of great power, and keepeth a very bountifull Court, after the fashion of that country; and hath every day, to serve him at his table, 60 kings, wearing leaden crowns on their heads; they serve at meat sent up to Prester John's table, and continually the first dish of meat set upon his table is a dead man's scull,

* "Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta et felice: nella Persia, nella India, et nella Ethiopia. Roma, 4to. m.d.x." This was the first edition. It was translated into English, and is reprinted in Purchas, vol. ii.

† "The rare and most wonderfull things which Edward Webbe, an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome Travails, in the Cities of Jerusalem, Damasco, Bethlem, and Galey; and in the Lands of Jewrie, Egypt, Greece, and Russia, and Prester John. 4to. London. Printed by A. I. for William Basileg." A copy of this book is in the British Museum. It is of excessive rarity: the *Jadis* copy selling for £15, and the *Nassau* copy for £14: 14.

cleane picked and laid in black earth, putting him in minde that he is but earth, and must die.

"These 60 kings are all his Vize-Roys in several places, and they have deputies to supply their roomes; and these kings live continually in Prester John's Court, and go no further than they may be still attendant upon him, without leave from the Emperour, Prester John."

In writing of the extraordinary animals seen by Webb, he states: "I have seene in a place like a parke, adjoining unto Prester John's Court, three score and seventeen Unicorns and Elephants at one time; and they were so tame that I have played with them as one would playe with young lamba."

Thomas Coryat, in his "*Crudities*," when giving an account of the Mogul Court, the Prince Selim then reigning, remarks: "Hee keepeth abundance of wilde beasts, and that of divers sorts, as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antelopes, Unicorns; where, too, I have seen at his Court the strangest beasts in the world. They were brought hither out of the countrie of Bengali, which is a kingdom of most singular fertilitie, within the compasse of his dominion, about four months journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet scene; but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this country, the neerest part of it being not above twelve days journey from this Court."

Here we find that merry author, Coryat, telling us "that he had seen two, the only true Unicorns possessed by the Prince Selim at that time."

In the preceding relations there evidently appears to be much confusion respecting the designation of the Unicorn. The traveller, Marco Polo, when describing the curiosities he met with at Sumara or Sumatra, gives to the Rhinoceros the name of Unicorn, erroneously supposing that the horn of the Rhinoceros rose from the middle of the forehead. "The head of the animal," he continues, "is like that of a small boar, and is generally carried hanging down upon the ground. They are filthy beasts, that love to stand and wallow in the mire, and do not in the least resemble those Unicorns which are said to be found in some parts of the world, and which allow themselves to be taken by maidens*."

The horn of the Unicorn has been supposed to possess the marvellous power of dispelling poison from whatever it comes into contact with.

John de Hessef, who visited Jerusalem in 1389, relates that, "Near the Plain

* The Cabinet Cyclopædia, vol. i. Travels of Marco Polo, p. 306.

† Itinerarius Johannis de Hesse, 1389; fol. G. Lxxv, 1486. "Prope campum (Helyon) est fluvius qui vocatur Marath, valde amarus, in quem Moyse percussit virga et accessit dulcedinem de quo filij Israel biberunt. Et adhuc hodiernis temporibus, ut dicitur, animalia venenosa intoxicant illam aquam post occum solis, sic quod bona de ea bibere non possunt. De mare vero post ortum solis venit Unicornus punctus cornu suum ad predictum fluvium expellendo venenum ex illo, ut in die cetera animalia sumant potum, quod idem ipse vidi."

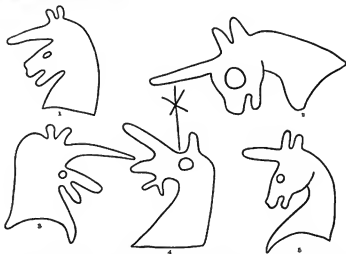
(Helyon) is a river that is called Marah, which Moses struck with a rod and sweetened, from which the sons of Israel drank; and as yet, in the times, it is said venomous animals poison that water after the setting of the Sun, so that good ones cannot drink of it; but at the rising of the Sun, the Unicorn comes from the sea, placing his horn in the said river, expelling the venom from it, that, in the day other animals may drink of it, which the same thing I have myself seen."

Hence the subject for Tempesta, from which there is an engraving, wherein is represented the Unicorn under the form of a horse going to water, and placing his horn therein, whereupon the crocodiles, serpents, frogs, and noisome animals, leave the same.

We have heard it stated that there is no good authority for the translation of the Hebrew word *Reem*, or *Raim*, as the Unicorn. In speaking, however, of the wild Bull so frequently represented in the Assyrian Palaces, Dr. Layard states: "The wild Bull, from its frequent representation in the bas-reliefs, appears to have been considered scarcely less formidable and noble game than the Lion. The King is frequently seen contending with it, and warriors pursue it both on horseback and on foot. In the embroideries on the garments of the principal figures, it is introduced, both in hunting scenes and in groups, which appear to have a mythic or symbolical meaning. I was at one time inclined to think that the Bull of the sculptures might represent the Unicorn or *Raim*", so often alluded to in the Scriptures as an animal renowned for its strength and ferocity, and typical of power and might. But the Unicorn of the Scriptures is now, I believe, generally identified with a large and fierce Antelope or Oryx, inhabiting Arabia and Egypt. Professor Migliarini, of Florence, informs me that the word *Raim* itself occurs, in hieroglyphics, over a figure of this Antelope, in an Egyptian sculpture; and he conjectures that the Jews derived a knowledge of the animal, as well as its name, from the Egyptians. The Bull of the bas-reliefs of Nimroud is evidently a wild animal, which inhabited Mesopotamia or Assyria. Its form is too faithfully delineated to permit of the supposition that it is an Antelope. It is distinguished from the domestic Ox by a number of small marks covering the body, and probably intended to denote long and shaggy hair. It is represented with one horn, as the horses have frequently only two legs, or one ear, because the Assyrian sculptor did not attempt to give both in a side view of the animal."

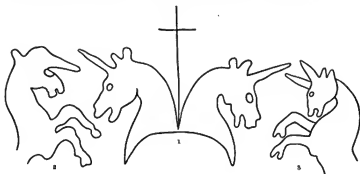
We now proceed to notice the Unicorn in its various phases as a paper-mark, leaving the Naturalists to settle the form of the animal, and the Philologists to decide on the correctness of the interpretation of the Hieroglyphics over the Egyptian *Oryx*.

BUST OF THE UNICORN. Profile. An examination of the Archives in other parts of the Netherlands than the Hague and at Harlem, would, no doubt, afford earlier examples of the use of the *Unicorn*, and *Parts* thereof, than those we are enabled to lay before our readers; an observation equally applicable to the various other Paper-Marks previously noticed.



We might have selected many other equally grotesque forms of the Head of the Unicorn from our tracings. The above five, however, are sufficient to shew that the animal, in those days, was believed to have partaken of the form of the horse; rather misshapen, however, are Nos. 3 and 4. No. 1 is from the Accounts from Zwalow, 1352-3; No. 2, from Accounts from North Holland, 1354; No. 3, from copies of Documents, 1355-6, in Register "A. L.;" No. 4, from a very early manuscript of *Isidorus*; No. 5, from Accounts from Zwalow, 1357. The last mark, more nearly approaching the Horse's head, is found in other Accounts at the Hague from 1360 to 1417.

TWO BUSTS OF THE UNICORN. *Profile; back to back.* No. 1 below.



We have not met with the mark of the two busts of the Unicorn joined earlier than 1370. It is found in several letters, in the Tower of London, written during the close of the first half of the fifteenth century, all of which are, however, rather smaller than our tracing. One occurs on a roll dated the 21st year of Henry VI., 1443.

HALF UNICORN. *Profile.* No. 2 above. Our earliest specimen is taken from a half-sheet in our collection from Accounts at the Hague, dated as early as 1357. Varying in form, it is met with in other Accounts up to 1418; that with two horns, as No. 3 above, being in the Accounts from Putte and Stryen, 1418.

UNICORN REARING. The only instance where we have met with this mark is in the Block-Books in the *Spencer A.* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F. We have not found it in any printed book.



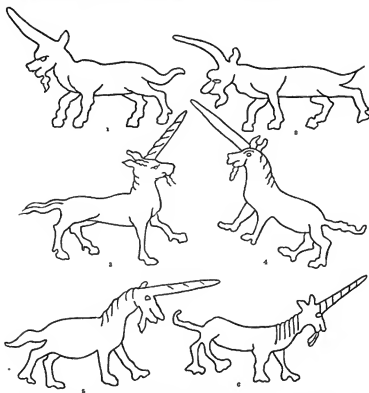
While writing these observations, we have before us a volume containing nearly two hundred and fifty sheets of paper, wherein are written legal opinions of many of the most eminent Florentine Counsellors from 1380 to 1420. The volume appears to have been taken from some public office in Florence. It is lettered, "*Consilia Angelii de Perusia, Blasii Liapi de Nicolinis, Philippi de Corsinis, aliorumque reterum Ictorum.*" Our attention was particularly drawn to the volume by finding that the paper composing it was of the same peculiar form and texture as that of many of the earliest of the Block-Books. And on discovering that it contained, on many of the sheets the mark of the *Rearing Unicorn*, we purchased it, with a view of future examination, and in order that it should be afterwards transferred to the British Museum. It contains a great many of the mark mentioned, from various moulds, as early as 1390. Our first tracing is one taken from a document of about 1410.

In consequence of so many of the documents bearing dates with the official seals attached to them, the volume is one of particular interest in the periodical illustration of Paper-Marks. We find, that, in one dated 1426, the paper bears the mark of the *Three Mounts within a circle*, very similar to that in the *Woodburn* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F. The paper is of the same thin texture, and is evidently of Italian manufacture, and very different from the majority of the paper in the volume.

The mark of the *Rearing Stag*, No. 2, is merely given to make up the space across the page, our other tracings of the *Rearing Unicorn* presenting no particular variety. The figures form a rather grotesque trio, and appear as if they were enjoying a Scotch Reel.

UNICORN. Full length. We have no tracing of the full figure earlier than 1398 or 1399, that of No. 1, in the opposite page, being from the Hague (*Rynland*) Accounts. No. 2 is from the *Hagenstein* Accounts, 1405. After which date we do not find the Unicorn in the Hague Accounts until 1443 or 1444 (*North Holland*), from which No. 3 is taken, the figure there assuming quite a different character. No. 5 is from Accounts dated 1450: the figure is slightly elevated in order to get it into the width of the page. No. 4 is from a document in the Tower of London, dated 1451. The last, No. 6, from Accounts at the Hague, dated 1520-1. Others of a later date might have been given to shew the continuous use of the mark during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which latter we might give many specimens. The letter published in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, 1795, by the Rev. Samuel Denne (one of the few persons who has written on the subject) is illustrated with several plates of tracings of paper-marks. The marks are, however, chiefly of those used during a period much later than that to which our inquiries refer. Among them, however, are several tracings of the Unicorn mark, all of a very different form from those given by us, but shewing that the mark had, from

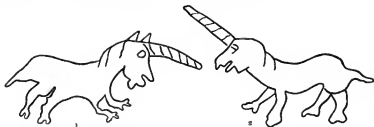
some cause or other, obtained a popularity among the Paper-Makers of this country as well as among those of their predecessors in the Netherlands.



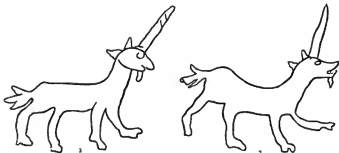
In the above tracings we have specimens of the Unicorn mark as used from 1398 to 1450. We might have occupied very many pages with representations of their variety in design, dated as late even as the seventh century. With the exception of the *Unicorn rearing*, no other but the full figure occurs in the Block-Books, and all assume a very different character from any of those we have here given. Those in the *Harlem* copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, pl. G.; the *Rendorp* copies of the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Cantica Canticorum*, pl. E. and G.; as also those in the *Bodleian* and *Johnson* copies of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. B. and C., are altogether of a different form.

There is a peculiarity about the Unicorn in the *Inglis* copy of the first edition of the *Speculum*, pl. H., as also in the other editions of that work, not to be found in any other we have met with. In our *Typographia Cent. XV.*, the marks numbered "73 and 74," pl. U., are from the *Inglis* copy of the *Speculum* just mentioned. It is a singular fact, that, while we find nearly all the other paper-marks of the Block-Books in works printed by Ulric Zell at Cologne, Veldener at Utrecht, Ketelaer and Leempt at Utrecht, Koelhoff at Cologne, Jacobs at Delft, Caxton and Machlinia at London, we do not find, in the numerous cases where the mark of the Unicorn occurs in those works, any instance of that figure resembling those used in the *Ars Moriendi*, the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Speculum*. That numbered 14, in pl. M., a little approaches No. 15, pl. Q., from the *Fasciculus Temporum* of Veldener.

We have before us the tracings of the various marks in the *Inglis* copy of Caxton's "*Fayt of Arms*," the Unicorn, the most prominent, presenting no less than twenty-one varieties, of which we give two as specimens of their peculiar form, though they do not all partake of so ludicrous a character.



The Unicorn often occurring in copies of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. C., is frequently found in works printed by Ulric Zell. In order to shew the great similarity of the mark, we give two tracings made above thirty years since (1825), when so many rare pieces from the press of Ulric Zell were sold, by Mr. Evans, for Messrs. G. and W. Nicol. The tracings are roughly drawn, not having been originally intended for any other purpose than that of future reference. There can be very little doubt but that the paper used by Ulric Zell and the publisher of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse* must have been obtained from the same source.



P.

INITIAL FOR PHILIP DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

"THE LETTER P AS A WATER-MARK.

"LOCALITY, and not persons, is the object to be ascertained. We firmly believe that Printing originated in Holland Proper, or the Netherlands; but we give a preference to the former, as the letters of the Block-Books were used on the Seals of Holland FORTY YEARS *before they were used in Flanders.* See the works of Vredius.

"We have found *no Symbol* on paper to warrant the *smallest opinion* that it was made in Holland at the period we are considering. The water-marks are all *Flemish*, and appear to commence as early as *Philip de Rouvre*, the last Count of Hainault of the Capetian race, and Count of Champagne and Brie.

"On the earliest Block-Books we find (in the water-marks) the principal feature of a *maritime* country, the ANCHOR, *alone*. Next, the letter P, chiefly surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, the *single lis* being the Arms of Burgundy Proper. We likewise find the Arms of Champagne.

"To the late Mr. Otley and Mr. Douce I pointed out these Arms. The latter asked, '*What can their Arms have to do in these books as Water-Marks?*'!!! And the former was quite unaware that *they were the Arms of Champagne.*

"But to proceed. It may be asked, how is it that the P's particularly, and other water-marks, are continued to such a length of time? My answer is, that they are continued *during the reign of each ruling Prince or Monarch*, and, of course, for some time after, until the paper made in the time of the foregoing Prince is all used up*.

"The letter P is a *remarkable instance of continuance.*

"PHILIP DE ROUVRE, the last Duke of Burgundy of the Capetian race, and

Count of Champagne, reigned . . . from 1349 to 1361 12 years.

"PHILIP AUDAX† 1363 to 1404 41 years.

"JOHN THE INTREPID 1404 to 1419 15 years.

"There appears no water-mark‡ of an I; but we may easily imagine that John the Intrepid was too much engaged against the Orleans family to attend to his

* Or rather until the marks or moulds were no longer fit for use, or the fashion of them ceased.

S. Leigh S.

† In Vredius, vol. iii. p. 69, is a seal of Philip Audax, dated 1403, the single P occurring in the field on either side.

‡ This is a point yet to be ascertained. If the mark of the crown above the fleur-de-lis, with the initials I. B., are applicable to John of Burgundy, we have at once a mark, though not, perhaps, of the same character as implied by my Father.

S. Leigh S.

affairs at home, and that no act was passed by him relative to his Paper Factories, and consequently the old water-marks used in his father's time were continued.

"PHILIP THE GOOD reigned . . . from 1419 to 1467 48 years.

"Thus the letter P became a *national water-mark* during the period of one hundred and sixteen years, and generally accompanied with the symbol of a *single Fleur-de-lis*, for Burgundy.

"During the reign of Charles the Fearless, from 1467 to 1477, no water-marks occur with his symbols.

"It is a remarkable fact, that, *on the union* of the Netherlands (1477) by the marriage of Maximilian to Mary, *nearly all the symbols* found in books of an earlier date *are found united* (brought together) in the First Dutch Bible (2 vols.), printed at Delft in 1477; a full proof that the symbols at this period were national."

These particular observations, prefatory to the notice of the P paper-mark, are specially referred to in the fifth page of the preliminary remarks* to the present volume. It is, however, but just to M. Koning here again to repeat, that, through his researches and national zeal, the letters P and Y marks were first discovered to have some connexion with the House of Burgundy. M. Koning was, however, wrong when he asserted that the letter P was not found in any book issued in Germany. He states, when noticing that he had not seen that mark in any paper before 1432, "Bien plus, la plupart des livres imprimés en Hollande vers la fin du quinzième siècle, portent cette marque; et on ne la trouvera jamais dans aucun livre, ni dans aucun papier venant d'Allemagne ou d'Italie."† If M. Koning had merely confined his observation to paper *made* in Germany or Italy, he would, we think, have been right, as we believe that, generally, where the P occurs in books printed in Germany, it will be found in company with marks undoubtedly Flemish; though we have found the P to be the only mark in two‡ small quarto pieces, supposed to be from the press of Gutenberg, and considered by some bibliographers to have preceded the *Mazarine Bible*.

As similar marks upon paper were continued in use for a considerable period after their first appearance, it becomes a matter of question whether the following may not have been used during the period of Philip le Rouge; for it must be observed, that our information respecting the early marks has been derived from an

* At the close of the observations occurred the following note by my Father: "*These rough memoranda are made in case I do not live to accomplish my undertaking. June 5, 1838.*" It was evidently written with a desire that the discoveries, which he thought he had been the first to make in respect to the peculiar feature of many of the paper-marks in the Block-Books, should not be overlooked.

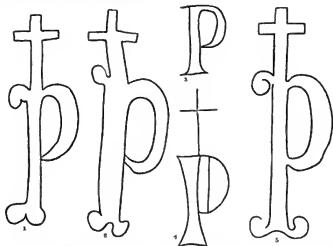
† Koning sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie. *Amst.* 1819, p. 36.

‡ I. "Dialogus inter Hugonem, etc., super Libertate Ecclesiastica;" Printed in the same type as used for *Hermannus de Soldia*.

II. "Sifridi Responsio ad Quatuor Questiones." Printed in the same type as the preceding.

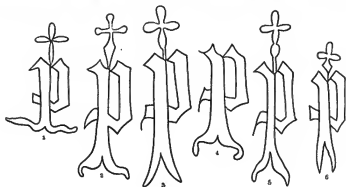
Both these tracts occurred for sale, in 1825, among the collection of Messrs. Nicol; the one sold for £7:7, and the other, stated as unique, for £10:10.

examination of the paper in the Archives of only one city of the Netherlands, the Hague, and from a few other sources.



The large P, as in tracings Nos. 1, 2, and 5, are found in the Books of Accounts from *Wyck*, *North and South Holland*, *Voorne*, *Heusden*, and *The Texel*, and of the *Comtes de Blois*, ranging from 1387 to 1393. The Accounts from *Wyck* of 1372 to 1388 afforded the only instance of the small plain P, No. 3. To that tracing, Mr. Ottley has written, as a note, after the other marks in those Accounts, "*also once, coarse paper.*" Almost equally rare was the occurrence of the mark 4, it having been found only in an Account Book from South Holland, dated 1393.

From the year 1393 until 1444 or 1445, we do not find the letter P in any of the paper in the Books of Accounts at the Hague. From the latter period until near the end of the sixteenth century, it occurs in Accounts from all parts of the Netherlands, sometimes without, but more generally with the *Fleur-de-lis* above.



In the preceding tracings, we have the P taken from Books of Accounts dated from 1444 to 1508. The peculiar form, No. 1, 1444 or 1445, does not frequently occur; nor does No. 4, which is taken from a Book of the Rents of Hennemerland, from 1448 to 1451.

Here we have a tracing of the earliest P mark that occurs in the Block-Books.

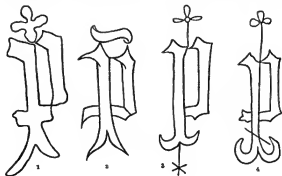


It is from the *Spencer* copy of the first edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. B. It has on the upper part that which is no doubt intended for the fleur-de-lis. It will be seen that it is very different from any mark of the same letter occurring in the Account Books at the Hague, and also very different from any others that are found in the Block-Books. Like the *Head of the Bull* accompanying it on the paper of the same copy, it is, beyond doubt, of a much earlier fabric, the paper itself bearing external evidence of having been made at the close of the fourteenth, or the beginning rather than the middle of the fifteenth century.

The next in date we believe to be those in the *Harlem* and *Pembroke* copies of the first edition of the *Ara Moriendi*, pl. G. After those, that in the *Chatsworth* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F., where, with the exception of a shield of arms, the only other mark is the Y.

The P with the fleur-de-lis is the only mark in the *Renouard* copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse*, pl. B. In the *Bodleian*, *Pembroke*, and *Johnson* copies of the same edition it is also found, each varying slightly in form.

With and without the fleur-de-lis, we find the P in the *Enschede* and *Spencer* copies of the second edition of the *Speculum*, as also with the fleur-de-lis in the *Spencer*, *Hibbert*, and *Rendorp* copies of the third edition of the *Speculum*.



We have previously observed that the letter P is rarely found in books printed elsewhere than in the Netherlands, excepting at Cologne. We have also stated that we found it in two books supposed to be printed by Gutenberg. No. 1 of the preceding tracings is from those volumes; a mark of very similar form to those in the *Typographia Cent. XV.* pl. L., from a Low Country edition of the Bible, which has, among other of its marks, one very like No. 3, taken from a manuscript dated 1473; No. 4 being also of about the same period.

Y.

INITIAL for YSABELLA, daughter of John King of Portugal, and third wife of Philip Duke of Burgundy, to whom she was married Jan. 10, 1429.

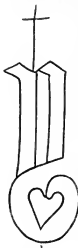


Whether the Y was used as a mark upon paper the same year as that in which Ysabella was married, we do not know, having hitherto met with no document* bearing that mark to which we can affix a date earlier than the year 1435. The tracing at the side is from a Register at the Hague, "A. L. 14, Cas. B.," wrongly dated at the back, 1321-1357, it being, as Mr. Ottley notes, of Accounts written from 1435-1438; the principal marks on the paper being the *Anchor* and the letter Y, as given. The same mark, slightly varying in form, is found in Accounts from *Amsterdam*, *Schoonhoven*, *Kennemerland*, and other places, ranging in dates from 1446 to 1465.

In the *Chatsworth* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. F., the plain Y occurs; so also in one of the leaves of the third edition of the *Apocalypse*, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Griffiths at Oxford, pl. C. It is also found on one sheet of the *Singer* copy of the third edition of the *Speculum*.

* Very limited have been the opportunities of examining the sources whence much additional information might be derived.

The larger Y (as in the margin), sometimes terminating with a heart, No. 1, and at others with three circles, No. 2, are the most frequent marks in the *Spencer*, *Hibbert*, *Rendorp*, and *Singer* copies of the third edition of the *Speculum*, pl. I. K. and L. We do not find this peculiar Y in the Accounts at the Hague earlier than 1468, nor after 1473. Nor do we find the larger Y in the printed productions of the fifteenth century, except in the Treatises by Ludovicus de Roma, Pius Secundus, and Saliceto, pl. O. and P.; though the smaller letter is found frequently in books printed at Delft, Gouda, Louvain, Utrecht, Brussels, Cologne, and also in some of the books from the press of Caxton.



It is related in the French Chronicles, and by Grimstone, in his History of the Netherlands, p. 141, that, "when Isabella took leave of her father to go to Flanders to her spouse, the former having given her his blessing, told her that she should have three sons," &c.

The Y with a single heart is in allusion to the declaration and motto of the Duke of Burgundy, "*Autre Navay je Fay en Pris.*"



P AND Y JOINED.

INITIALS for PHILIP DUKE OF BURGUNDY and YSABELLA his wife, the same initials forming their private seal, as given by Vredius*, thus:



Though we have not been so fortunate as to meet with the Y alone, as a mark on paper, in any manuscript bearing the date of 1430, or even within four years after the marriage of Ysabella with the Duke of Burgundy, yet the P and Y united are by no means uncommon. We have before us five sheets of the tracings made by Mr. Ottley of the various marks, headed "*Harlem Paper-Marks*," copied from M. de Koning's tracings. Not only is it a remarkable circumstance that M. Koning, to whom every mark that could have thrown a new light upon the opinions he had brought forward in 1818, in respect to the P and Y marks, was important, should not

* Vredii Sigilla Comitum Flandrim, pp. 85-6.

have decyphered the mark we are now discussing; but that Mr. Ottley should have placed the mark, in his volume of tracings, under those of "*Unknown Signification*," is still more remarkable. Among the tracings of the "*Harlem Paper-Marks*," Mr. Ottley gives it as of date 1431. By the side of which he has drawn another mark, of the same signification, but equally unknown to him, though of very peculiar form. It is one of the marks in the Church Register at Harlem, dated 1434, and is also found in the Accounts at the Hague, from Woerden near Leyden, dated from 1429 to 1434.

Mr. Ottley and M. Koning are not the only persons under whose observation the first mark came, without their being able to decypher it. Heineken states that the copy of the edition of the *Apocalypse*, with fifty plates, which was at that period in the possession of Mariette*, had on each leaf the above mark. In the notice given by Heineken of the small 4to. edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, which we have placed among the Block-Books of Germany rather than of the Low Countries, he has added in a note, when writing of the *Mariette* copy of that edition, that each page had for its water-mark the St. Catherine's Wheel, and that the mark in the *Mariette* copy of the *Apocalypse* formed a portion of the St. Catherine's Wheel†. Heineken also notes (p. 318) that the *Mariette* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* had, among other water-marks, that which is shown at the side.

We do not think there is any need of argument to shew that the first mark in the preceding page is intended to represent the letters P and Y. As the mark is there placed, the Y is clear on the right, and by turning it upside down, the P stands also plain on the right. So likewise do the above marks at the side of this page.

We have as yet been unable to see the *Mariette* copies of the works quoted by Heineken. We have not, however, the smallest doubt that the mark given by Heineken on a reduced scale, is the same mark as that given by us. His reduced copy from the *Apocalypse* being turned the contrary way to ours, shews the letters on the reverse sides; while the mark from the *Biblia Pauperum* has been, no doubt, imperfectly drawn, it being only a portion of it. Respecting this mark forming a portion of the St. Catherine's Wheel in the copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, we have no doubt that he mistook the pendant in that mark, as it occurs in the Fourth Edition of the *Speculum*, for the same, see pl. M.

* "Le papier de cet exemplaire est constamment de la même fabrique; il n'y a pas une feuille, qui n'est marquée du chiffre ci à côté." (p. 366, note.)

† "Quoique la marque du papier ne soit pas un guide fort sûr, il ne sera pas cependant hors de propos, d'observer que le papier, sur lequel est imprimé l'exemplaire de M. Mariette, est marqué depuis la première feuille jusqu'à la dernière, d'une roue dentelée; telle, qu'est ordinairement celle, dont les anciens peintres ou graveurs accompagnent, dans leurs ouvrages, la figure de Sainte Catherine. Il entre dans cette marque un d. et un p.; ce sont les mêmes lettres qu'on trouve sur l'exemplaire de l'Apocalypse, dont j'ai parlé à la page 366, note." (p. 408, note.)

The only instance* of our having as yet found the P and Y joined in the printed productions of the fifteenth century, was in the *Heber* copy of the "Sermones de Tempore," printed by Ulric Zell at Cologne in 1474, where also occurred the P, the Y, the larger Y with three circles, the Arms of Champaigne, the Arms of France, Bulls' Heads of various forms, and other of the marks so frequently met with in the paper of books printed by Ulric Zell†.

* Previous to my having found another instance of it in the British Museum copy of *Jason* from the press of Caxton, the above was in type.

† Since the printing of the two last sheets of my second volume, wherein I have made a few observations respecting the views entertained by my Father as to the fact of some of the early printers composing and working off their productions by *single* pages, I find the following note, which relates to some quarto volume printed by Ulric Zell. The facts stated, speak, I think, for themselves, rendering any further observations from me unnecessary.

"N.B. The two opposite pages in the third sheet of the last gathering are so ill in register with each other, having this appearance: (and I have taken pains not to exaggerate) that I feel that any printer at all practiced in his art could have other in the same form.



"Again, the central pages of the eleventh gathering appear thus: the instances are so common throughout the book, that I cannot them, except by the supposition that only one page was printed at a



and, indeed, account for time.

"Another kind of evidence that this was the case, is the occasional *inequality in the tint, or fulness of the ink in two pages on the same side of the same half sheet*, as in the fifth gathering; especially where the second half sheet has the page on the left much blacker and fuller of ink than that on the right; which effect may be observed in a greater or less degree in other parts of the volume." Again, it sometimes happens, in the books printed by Ulric Zell, that the paper-marks on the gatherings do not run as they should if more than *two* pages were printed at the same time. The following note I find respecting the *Tractatus de Simplificatione Cordis Johannis Gerson*, from the press of Zell:

"The gatherings are of eight leaves; and by looking at the two pages opposite each other, at the middle of a gathering, it appears, from the lines of the two pages *not following the same direction (one page in the middle of the first gathering being printed diagonally on the paper, and the other not so)* that only one page was printed at a time. The same want of regularity is also very striking in the two middle pages of the third gathering; and nearly the same in the middle of the fourth gathering, and also in the fifth; after which the two pages are more nearly in register with each other. This, on further examination, is or may be doubtful. But from the first gathering having three half sheets with a mark, and the second having three half sheets without a mark, it is evident that *not more than two pages* were printed at once. The third gathering has also three half sheets with paper-marks; the fourth also three half sheets with mark. Also the mixture of this paper with thick proves that two pages only were printed at once."

PAPER-MARKS

IN
BOOKS FROM THE PRESS
OF
WILLIAM CAXTON,
THE FIRST ENGLISH PRINTER.

PLATES Qv, Qs, Qr.

HAVING, on several occasions, in the preceding pages, noticed that paper-marks of a similar kind to those used in the Low Countries occur in the books printed by Caxton, we resolved, ere proceeding farther with the printing of this volume, to examine all the marks in the several copies of those works in the library at the British Museum; for, though possessing a large collection of tracings of marks, made many years since, by a skilful hand, from productions of the press of Caxton, we thought it better to satisfy ourselves of their accuracy by a personal examination of them at the present time. This has been greatly facilitated by the assistance of Mr. J. Winter Jones, the Keeper of the Printed Books in our National Library, in permitting us minutely to examine and compare the various volumes, so essential in undertaking a work of this nature.

Our giving the marks, however, may be considered as a work of supererogation, inasmuch as in the first volume of the last edition of *Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain*, by Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin, two plates, v. and vi., are devoted to tracings of water-marks: the one to a few of those on the paper used by Caxton, and the other to some of a similar character from books printed in the Low Countries.

On referring to those two plates we naturally expected to find some illustrative text from the pen of Dr. Dibdin, the last editor of the work. Such, however, is not the case, the only reference to them being in the following note, p. cxxv.: "On the plate facing the present page the reader is presented with fac-similes of the WATER-MARKS in the paper used by our own and other printers of the Low Countries, in the fifteenth century. A curious dissertation upon this subject, with plates, is in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 114."

It so happens that we have in our possession the collection of tracings* of paper-marks made by the distinguished antiquarian Joseph Ames, the author of the

* Lent to me by Mr. Lilly the bookseller.

original work; in the first edition of which, 1749, the marks in plate v., previously mentioned, comprise pages 74 and 75; and in the edition of 1785, pp. 109-10. These plates only contained marks from the Caxton Books, so that the addition of those from the books printed in the Low Countries was made by Dr. Dibdin.

If Mr. Ames had had the same opportunity of examining so many books from the press of Caxton as Dr. Dibdin had, he would, no doubt, have given a greater variety of marks; consequently, we can only suppose that Dr. Dibdin did not think the subject worth troubling himself about; and furthermore, had he looked to the *Archæologia*, he would have seen that the Dissertation, or rather "*Observations on Paper-Marks, by the Rev. Samuel Denne, F.A.S., in a letter to Mr. Gough (read at the Society of Antiquaries, May 21, and June 4, 1795)*", only noticed *one* mark, the *Crown*, as used in 1473, the other marks being on paper manufactured apparently in England from 1512 to 1712.

Hence the cause of our present digression ere we proceed to the consideration of the marks used in the paper of the Block-Books executed in Germany. It must not, however, be supposed that the marks we have given comprise all that are to be found in the paper used by Caxton. Independent of some copies examined by us many years since, we have only examined those works from his press which are in the British Museum; but as they amount to nearly sixty volumes, we think the marks are sufficient to shew that Caxton obtained his supply of paper from the Low Countries. Lettou and Machlinia obtained their paper from the same source, as did also Wynkyn de Worde, until about the year 1416, when paper was manufactured in England by John Tate the younger, as noticed in the subjoined lines from the prologue to the English edition of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

" And to John Tate the younger joi mote he broke,
Which since hath in England doo make this paper thienne
That now in our English tongue this boke us printed inne."

As John Tate the younger was Lord Mayor of London in 1496, we may conclude that the work was printed prior to that year, otherwise he would hardly have been styled in so off-hand and uncitizen-like a manner. The Worshipful the Ex-Lord Mayor would have been more respectfully commemorated.

We do not mean to assert that Caxton made use of no other paper than that from the Low Countries. We mention this because we have now and then found a sheet or two of paper evidently of Italian manufacture; for instance, in the Grenville copy of the First Edition of the Game of Chess occurs a single sheet with the *Anchor within a circle*, a mark decidedly not Flemish, but rather Italian. It occurs likewise in two other of the books examined by us. The same observation applies equally to German paper.

We now proceed to note the various works from the press of Caxton whence the

marks in plates Qa, Qb, and Qc, are taken, the numbers referring to the several marks in the order wherein they occurred in the copies, which, unless otherwise stated, are those in the British Museum. We may here observe, that the tracings we have given are not executed with that particular degree of accuracy with respect to their exact position between the wires, or as regards the dots or fastenings, as if with the view of identifying paper made from the same vat.

- ART TO LESSE WELL TO DYE. 1490.
Thin paper. 46, 26 or 27.
- BOETIUS. Two copies. *No date.*
One firm and crackling paper, the other soft, having been sized. 55, with N above. Hand, with quatrefoil above, no stem.
- CATHON. 1483.
Thick paper, but mostly soft. 32, 33, several varieties. 55, several varieties.
- CHASTISING OF GOD'S CHILDREN. *No date.*
Soft paper. 21.
- CHAUCER, CANTERBURY TALES. 1st edition. *n. d.*
Mixed paper, but all of firm quality. 63, many varieties. 3, 5. Unicorn, as No. 4, p. 73, preceding. 47, 38, 4, 30, 61, 20*, 6.
- ANOTHER COPY. Grenville Library.
The paper of the same quality, and similar marks in very much the same order.
- In another COPY, examined years ago, the following was the order of the marks: 38, 5 several varieties; Unicorn as 63, several varieties, and No. 4, p. 73, as before; 3, but larger; 30, but larger; 6, 28*, several differing; 4, 61, 46.
- THE SECOND EDITION. Grenville Library. *n. d.*
Thin paper, upright wire-lines rather close. 7, 5, with *Lis* above, and label below. 64, 5, with cross above, and label below. Small coarse Bull's Head, cross above. Small Heart, crown above, J. B. below.
- CHAUCER, BOOK OF FAME. *No date.*
Stout paper. 4. 46, several sizes.
- CHAUCER, TROYLUS AND CRESEYDE. *No date.*
Rather thin paper. 27, several varieties; some with *Lis* above. 46, 45.
- ANOTHER COPY. Grenville Library. *No date.*
Coarse and brown paper, except with mark 28, that being of a fine texture, with upright water-lines unusually close. The other marks are the Hound, with and without the *Lis*; as also the P. with *Lis* and plain.
- CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND. 1480.
Stout paper. 5, 46, 15.
- ANOTHER COPY, examined years since.
Paper not noted. 5, 50, 60, 4, 38, 3, 29.
- CICERO DE SENECTUTE. Two copies. 1481.
Thick and firm paper. 9, 16, 13.
- CORDBALE (THE BOOK NAMES). *No date.*
Firm and crackling paper. 16. 32 and 33 several varieties.
- In another copy, examined some years since, we found the mark to be of a similar character.
- CURIAL OF ALAIN CHARTIER. *No date.*
Stout paper. Small P. with *Lis*.
- DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.
Mixed paper. 31, 60, 5, 39, 65.
- DICTES AND SAYENGES OF PHILOSOPHERS. 1477.
Firm paper. 8, 5, several varieties; 41, 15, several varieties; 38, *once, last leaf*.
- DIRECTORIUM SACERDOTUM. *No date.*
Thick and thin paper. Scissors, 56. Hand, 31.
- FAYTES OF ARMS OF CHYVALRYE. 1489.
Mixed paper. 63, 65, many varieties. 3, 58.
The marks in the GRENVILLE copy, with the exception of No. 3, are all Unicorns, of variety of form.

The marks in the *INOLIS* copy, examined many years since, comprised a great variety of the same coarsely formed Unicorns, of which we have given, at p. 74, two specimens. Also 40, 57, 58, 3.

FESTIVALIS LIBER. 1483.

Coarse and thick paper. 2, 16, 31, 35.

ANOTHER EDITION. Small type. 1483.

Mixed paper; some very soft. 33-4, 28. 5 with *Lis* above. 3, 31.

FIFTEEN (THE) O's. *No date.*

White and stout paper. 35.

The same woodcut borders around each page of the work were also used for an English Breviary, printed in a Misal type differing from any known. The mark on the paper, which is white and firm, is the Hand, with *Lis* on stem. A copy of the Breviary is in the British Museum.

GOLSEN (THE) LEGENDE. Large folio. 1483.

Mixed paper. 30 without *Lis*. 11, some smaller than others. 69. 65 with quatrefoil above. 43, 49.

ANOTHER COPY, examined many years ago. 11.

30 without *Lis*. 43, 59, 49.

GAME OF CHESS. First edition. 1474.

9, 17, 18.

ANOTHER COPY. Grenville Library.

9, 17, 17*, 18.

The paper of these two copies is of a similar texture to that used in the French and English editions of the *Histoires of Troy*. The mark of the Bull, 18, is evidently the same, but injured, as that occurring in the *Meditations sur les Presens Penitenciales*. The second leaf, containing mark 2, is a facsimile.

GAME OF CHESS. Second edition. *No date.*

Mixed and coarse paper. 4 plain. 38 once. 46, small and thin; several moulds. 45, Homed to left, without *Lis* to collar on neck.

GOWER, CONFESSIO AMANTIS. 1483.

Mixed and coarse-grained paper. A circle on first leaf, but indistinct. 38, 50, 49.

The paper and marks in the Grenville and another copy in the British Museum are of a similar character; so likewise in a copy examined by us years since.

HIDDEN, POLYCHRONICON. 1482.

Paper of mixed quality. 45, 46, and other varieties. 11, 12, 13, 16, 17*, 54, 7, 5. P with shank, as 48*.

Of this work, extending over four hundred leaves, there are three copies in the British Museum. Besides these, we have examined several other copies, and found them all to contain marks of a similar character to those above enumerated.

JARON. *No date.*

Thin but firm paper. 39, 50, several varieties. 4 plain. Unicorn, very similar to No. 4, p. 73. 44, several differing. 52, 6, 1, 30, 10.

We have before us the tracings of the marks in another copy we met with some years ago. Among these we find, in addition to the above, 38, 45, 51.

This and the "Royall Book" contain the only instances of the Anchor, I, which we have met with in these works. So likewise here is the only instance of the P and Y united; and the second instance only that we have met with it in any printed book, see p. 82.

KNYGHT OF THE TOURE. 1483.

Remarkably thick and spongy paper, having been much sized; the upright water lines scarcely visible. 32, several slightly differing. 65.

ANOTHER COPY.

Fine textured paper. Same marks as the last.

LIFE OF ST. KATHERINE OF SENIR. *No date.*

Coarse, thin, and brown paper. Anchor, round-shouldered, first leaf only. 65, 22, 21.

ANOTHER COPY. Grenville Library. *No date.*

Coarse, thin, and brown paper. 65, 22, 21.

LIFE OF PRINCE CHARLES THE GREY. 1485.

Mixed paper. Hound, 30, without *Lis*. 48, a peculiar mark, which may be either taken as a P or a Y. 3, 7, 4. Small Hand, with cinquefoil.

LIFE OF OUR LADY.

No date.

Thinnish paper. 4. 28, several varieties.

LIFE OF ST. WYNEFREDE.

No date.

Stout paper. 32, 33. Another, of smaller size, differing slightly from 33.

MEDITATIONS SUR LES SEPT PSAULNES PENITENCIALES.

No date.

Stout, coarse-grained paper; wire lines across particularly clear. With the exception of the Bull, 19, occurring in three instances, the Unicorn is the only mark. They are all of rather a peculiar form, of which 62 is one. Several of them occur in the inner part of the sheet, the left of the text; a circumstance most rarely, we should think, to be met with.

LES QUATRE DERNIENNIERES CHOSES. No date.

With the exception of a few leaves, the paper is of a similar texture, but not quite so stout. The marks are 50, 4, and 6.

The two preceding works are found in one volume. On finding that the first work was printed in the same type as the French and English versions of the Histories of Troy and the Game of Chess, dated 1474, each work containing the same number of lines in a page, Mr. J. Winter Jones contributed to the *Archæologia* for 1846 (vol. xxxi) a very interesting letter upon the subject, with the view of shewing that the version of the Penitential Psalm was from the press of Canton.

Mr. Jones gives the mark of one of the Unicorns, one of those on the inner side of the text. It differs slightly from that we have given, 62. Mr. Jones omitted to notice the mark of the Bull. He gives the marks occurring in the second treatise, which is printed in the same type as the second edition of the Game of Chess.

The manuscript occurring on the two blank leaves between the treatises (one leaf belonging to each, as seen by the texture of the paper) being the same autograph, shews that the two works had been bound about the same period.

MYRROUR OF THE WORLD. Two copies. 1483.

Firm and white paper. 17, star above slightly differing. Hand with three triangles in lieu of Fleur-de-lis.

The marks in another copy, examined by us years ago, comprised 4, 66, and other varieties; 3, 37, 25, 26, 46, 45, of coarse design; 5, but plain shield.

PARIS AND VIENNA.

1485.

Mixed paper. 5, 48, 27, 4, 3.

PYLOREMADE OF THE SOOLE.

1483.

Mixed paper, some very thin. 27, 4, no cross above. 8, 32, 3, 28, Hound without *Lis*. 55.

REYNARD THE FOX. Two copies.

1481.

Firm but rather coarse paper. 53.

TROY. THE RECUEIL OF THE HISTORIES OF TROYE.

1468-71.

Mixed paper, that having the mark of the Bull's Head of a coarse texture and brown colour. 5, 41, 23, two varieties. 9, 46, coarse outline; only once or twice.

The paper with the Bull's Head, in copies of the first edition of the Game of Chess 1474, is of the same texture, and probably from the same vat as that used for the above work. It is of a coarse brown texture, and of a different quality from that on which the mark of the Grapes occurs, that paper being probably of German manufacture.

TROY. LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES DES TROYES, &c., 1464.

Paper chiefly stout and crackling, all of about the same quality, and good colour. Very much the same texture as *Meditations sur les Sept Psaulmes Penitenciales*. 46, delicate outline, the fastenings not discernible. 5, plain shield, with *Lis* above. 50, 14,

coarse outline, once only. 45, Unicorn as below, No. 1, but down the upright lines. Bull, 19; and twice again, but more perfect. Unicorn, as before, on last leaf.

This is the first instance of our having met with the mark of the Cross (20), though one somewhat similar occurs in a copy of the *Arx Memorandi* Block-Book in the Royal Library at Munich.

ROYAL (THE) BOOK. 1484.

Thin and rather soft paper. 1, 3, 34, small plain Hand. 48, Hound, with and without *Lis*, several varieties. 61*, unknown mark. 27, 50, 4, 60, without Crown. 60, Crown without Star. 7, without Crown.

SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM. 1486.

Mixed paper. Unicorn as below, No. 2, and others differing; some with horn upright

and forefeet raised; others with band round the body. 3, 45, Hand plain. 30, no *Lis*. 46, 61, or something very like it, on *Sig.* 8 s. Arms indistinct on *Sig.* 8 s. 4, plain. 14, 31, 15. Bull's Head as below, No. 3. 36.

SPECULUM VITÆ CHRISTI. *No date.*

Good paper. 5, 27, 45, 56, 4, 46.

STATUTES OF RICHARD III. *No date.*

Stout paper. 45, and others larger.

STATUTES OF HENRY VII.

White and firm paper. 2, 32.

VICTORY AGAINST THE TURKS. *No date.*

Rather coarse and thin paper. 14.

VIROIL, BOKE OF ENEYDOS. Two copies. 1490.

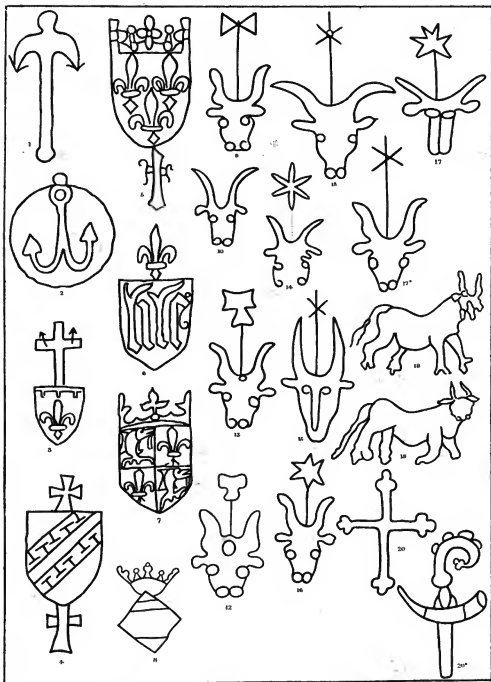
Firm and crackling paper. 26, 27, 56, 25, 24, 4.

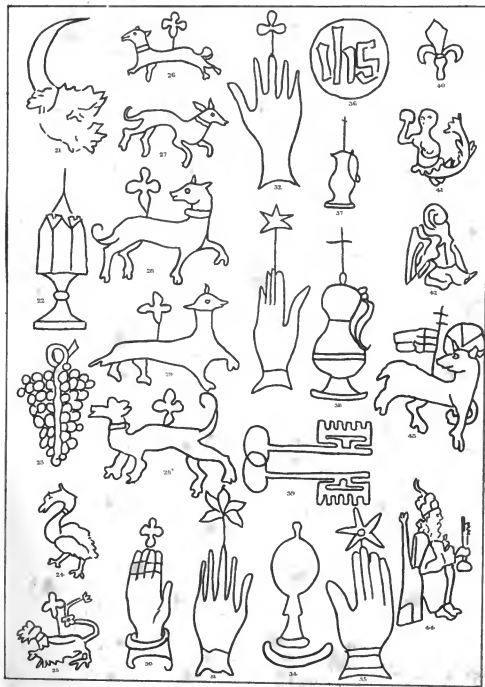
Another copy, in our possession years ago, contained similar marks.

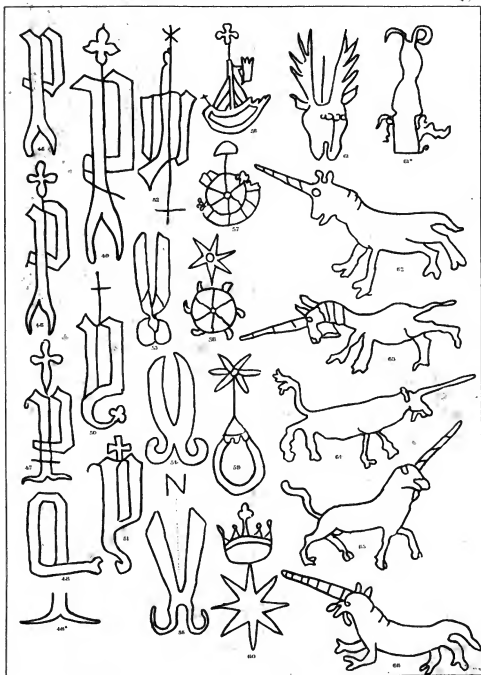


Though occasionally Caxton may have used paper procured from Germany, yet the marks we have given are sufficient to shew that the greater part of his paper was obtained from the Low Countries. In the three plates of tracings are no less than between forty and fifty different marks, independent of their several varieties. An examination of other copies of the same works, as also of all the other productions from the press of Caxton, would considerably extend the number of the marks.

We do not think it necessary to give any marks from the books issued at St. Albans from the presses of Lettou and Machlinia, or from those works supposed to have been printed at Oxford. They all contain marks of a similar character, the Oxford Books having many similar to those found in the Delft edition of the Bible, 1477.









The result of our examination of the paper-marks found in the books printed by Caxton, has necessarily led us to make some inquiries respecting the earliest productions of his press; the more so as, on looking into several bibliographical works, we found that the not unusual plan had been adopted: viz., one author copying from another, taking all for granted, and never, we believe, except in a few instances, being at the trouble of examining the works described.

We do not pretend to much knowledge in bibliography, and therefore hope our readers will consider the ensuing remarks merely as hints and arguments for those who may feel inclined hereafter to enter more fully into the subject, with the view of deciding a question which at present must remain in some degree of uncertainty.

Without perverting* the language used by Wynkyn de Worde in the following extract from his prologue to his edition of Bartholomæus,

"And also of your charyte call to remembrance
The soule of William Caxton, the first prynter of this boke
In latyn tongue, at Coleyn, hymself to auntyce,
That every well disposed man may thereon loke :"

we cannot do otherwise than believe that Caxton printed at Cologne an edition of that work in the Latin language. As no edition is at present known bearing the slightest indication of having been printed by Caxton, the question naturally arises, What has become of that book? a work consisting, not of a few leaves, but necessarily of between two and three hundred.

In the absence, therefore, of a distinguishable edition, we turn to those that exist, in order to discover whether one of those dateless editions printed before or about the year 1474, when we have reason to believe Caxton was still at Cologne, can be assumed to be that to which Wynkyn de Worde referred. It must be borne in mind that Wynkyn de Worde does not mention the fact with any reference to the typographical skill of Caxton, but that his object in printing the book was for the purpose of improving himself in the knowledge of the Latin language. Therefore he may have been engaged in the printing of that work before he finished at Cologne, in 1471, his English version of the Histories of Troy, or after, ere he returned to England.

Owing to a mistake† by Maittaire and Dr. Middleton, Lewis, in his *Life of*

* "An ingenious sophist, however, of the school of Duns Scotus may interpret W. de Worde's second and third verses thus, 'William Caxton printed this, at Cologne, in order to advance himself in the Latin tongue,' or he 'printed this book in order to advance himself in the Latin tongue, at Cologne.' From both interpretations it would also follow that he printed the book; but from the former, at Cologne. From both interpretations it would also follow that he might have printed his own *translation* of it, as that would have still more effectually contributed to his improvement in the original. The mere reimpression of a Latin book would not have caused our typographer to 'advance himself' one iota in the 'Latin tongue.'" (Dibdin's *Ames*, vol. i. xcii. note.)

† Dibdin's *Ames*, vol. i. xcii. note.

Caxton (pp. 17, 18), was led to believe that there was an edition of Bartholomæus from the press of Koelhoff as early as 1470. He therefore very naturally and shrewdly remarks, that, as it appeared "whilst Mr. Caxton was at Cologne learning and practising the art of printing, he might possibly be assisting Koelhoff in printing this book, or at the expense of it, and so be remembered by Wynkyn de Worde as the printer."

The earliest edition of Bartholomæus from the press of Koelhoff is dated 1481, and bears his name. Whether he printed one without date earlier, is not known; at least none exists that can be attributed to his press.

There are only two other editions at present known from which any inference can be drawn. Both are printed "*sine ulla nota*," to use the phrase of the bibliographer, and are in types that cannot satisfactorily be fixed upon as those used by any known printer. Both are folio, printed in double columns, the one of very large size, with fifty-five lines, and the other smaller, with sixty-one lines in a column.

Of the first there are two copies in the British Museum, one in the library of Earl Spencer, and another in the Royal Library at Windsor, that having been retained, with a few other very rare volumes, by His Majesty George IV. when presenting to the nation the private library formed by George III.

In the copy in the British Museum (which was sold to the Trustees by the late Mr. Rodd, one of the most intelligent booksellers of this country,) occurs a note, in his autograph, stating his belief that the edition was that alluded to by Wynkyn de Worde, and that it was "*decidedly printed at Cologne*." As Mr. Rodd was professedly more learned in English than in foreign bibliography, we feel no hesitation in stating that we believe he had formed a very erroneous opinion.

We remember, that, when a few years ago a copy of the same edition, belonging to Mr. Thorpe, was publicly sold in Wellington-street, we examined the book, making at the time a memorandum that the volume had the appearance of having been issued rather from a Strasbourg than a Cologne press, the water-marks being for the most part a Font and a Crown, similar to those of No. 65 in *The Typography of the Fifteenth Century*, the work whence they were taken being in the type of Eggesteyn, one of the early Strasbourg printers.

On the subject now coming more particularly before us, we find that the marks* in the British Museum copies are of a similar kind, resembling those usually found in the books printed at Strasbourg.

Independent, however, of the paper-marks, there is another point, which we consider far more conclusive in shewing that the edition in question was not printed

* The paper-marks in the copies in the British Museum consist of, in the one, a Half Moon or Crescent, Scales, P or D with Cross above and below, Font, Crown; the Y and the Arms of France occurring in two of the four leaves of the table at end. In the other copy, the Scales, Half Moon, Crown, Font; the Y and the Arms in the table as before.

at Cologne. We allude to its size. It is printed on paper of precisely that peculiar make and large size used by Mentellin and other of the Strasbourg printers; whereas the books printed by Ulric Zell, Veldener, Koelhoff, and other of the Cologne printers, are nearly all of a small folio, that sized paper being generally manufactured in the Low Countries, whence those printers appear to have obtained their paper.

The other edition alluded to, is that which is mentioned by Laire, vol. i. p. 137, No. 95; and also among the many editions enumerated in the last edition of Ames, vol. ii. p. 319, where Dr. Dibdin, quoting Laire, erroneously refers to it as an edition in the German language, of the date 1479. It is also in large folio, of 212 leaves, printed in double columns, and has a table of three leaves. Laire places it among the books printed between the years 1470 and 1480, considering the type to resemble that in the books issued by the Basle printers.

Through the kindness of a friend we have a copy of it before us. We are not able to assign the type to any of the Basle printers. It is also very unlike any of the productions issued at Strasbourg or Cologne, independently of the paper being of a totally different quality from that generally used in those cities by the early printers, the marks* also being for the most part of a different character.

Since writing the preceding, we have found that, in the British Museum (thanks to the aid and typographical memoranda of Mr. Cannon of that library), there is an edition of the *Pantheologia* of Rainer de Pisis (*press mark*, 3833e), printed in the same type, double columns, of sixty lines, large folio. It is mentioned by Heyn in his *Repertorium*, No. 1314, who attributes it to the press of Berthold Rodt of Basle. The justification of the type in the Bartholomæus is very irregular, which is not the

* They consist of a small Circle; a Man's Head, as below; Bull's Head, as below; Hand with Cross above; a Double Cross, as below; St. Katherine's Wheel, placed quite at the outside part of the sheet, a singular circumstance, sufficient to induce us to suppose that the sheet of paper was made of double size, some of that paper being thick, some thin, and all of a coarse texture, of a brown colour. The other marks are, Arms of France, with small B below; Small Mark, as below, on the right lower corner of pp. cxx. and on some other leaves following; Small Crescent; Moor's Head, as below; and another indistinct mark, as below.



case in the work of Rainer de Pisis; and the paper in the latter is of a far better quality. The mark, with the exception of the particular P or D (as noticed, note, p. 90), in two or three of the tables at the commencement, is the Bull's Head, as at the side, which runs through the volume, a circumstance not very usual in a work extending over several hundred folios. The mark is very like that found in Richel's *Speculum*, see plate U.



If any volume could be found in the same type, and bearing the name of Richel as the printer, then we might fairly consider the edition not to have been printed by Caxton. The type, however, is not that known as Richel's; and though the paper-mark in the copy of the *Pantheologia* is very similar to that in the paper of the *Speculum* printed by Richel, yet that alone would not be confirmatory of the work having been issued from his press. Our friend, to whom the copy of the edition of Bartholomæus belongs, a gentleman most learned in bibliographical minutiae, is inclined to believe it to be the edition referred to by Wynkyn de Worde. He thinks the edition was printed about the year 1470. We candidly confess our inability to give a decided opinion in respect to it. There is, however, so great an unconviction in the lines, and it altogether presents so unusual a character, that we are a little inclined to lean to the opinion of our friend.

At the close of our fac-similes of the various types used by Caxton, we have given a few lines from the two editions of the Bartholomæus we have been describing, with the view of enabling others to judge how far we may be correct in not decidedly considering the latter of them to be the edition referred to by Wynkyn de Worde. We can hardly suppose, however, that he would have made a statement of so positive a nature without good foundation for so doing; but, as even the statement made in the Cologne Chronicle of 1499, respecting the origin of printing, has caused so much controversy as to its literal meaning, a question naturally arises, whether the statement of Wynkyn de Worde was not founded upon some conversation with his old master, Caxton, who, when relating his early typographical labours, alluded to his having assisted, when learning the business of a printer, in the composition of an edition of Bartholomæus, with the view, at the same time, of improving his knowledge of the Latin language. Though the mechanical art of composing the type is not generally practised as a means of education, yet such a man as Caxton might have gathered knowledge from the book of which he was setting up the types. Had he printed on his own account an edition of so large a work, we cannot believe that he would have been silent upon the subject. If the edition, the one referred to as in the possession of our friend, could be proved to have been issued at Cologne, then would the meaning intended to be conveyed as to Caxton by Wynkyn de Worde, be fully borne out, that edition being the only one known to which the fact stated by him will apply.

Some of the type used by Caxton was of the same manufacture as that claimed by John Brito, of Bruges, as having been *invented* and *made* by him with the view of imitating the precise character of the writing in a manuscript possessed by him.

Now we know that Caxton dwelt for many years at Bruges, where, in 1468, he commenced his translation of the Histories of Troy. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to suppose that he must have been well acquainted with Brito.

John Brito did not put forth his labours with the same bombastic flourish as did Veldener, and, in some instances, other of the early Printers. He modestly stated in a colophon,

"Aspice presentis scripturo gracia que sit.
Confer opus opere, spectetur codice codex.
Respice q̄ munde q̄ terro q̄q̄ decore
Imprimat hec civis brugensis hito Johānes,
Inveniē's artem nullo monstrāte mirādam,
Instrumēta quoq̄. non minus laude stupēda."

Behold what elegance is due to this writing (*printing*).
Compare work with work (*letter with letter*), examine
Manuscript with manuscript (*one copy with another*).
Consider how cleanly, how neatly, how handsomely,
John Brito, citizen of Bruges, prints these works,
Discovering a wonderful art, nobody having shown him;
And also the astonishing instruments (*the type*) no less praiseworthy.

There has only been one work discovered as having been printed by Brito, that to which the preceding colophon is appended. It occurred at the sale of the library of the learned Meerman, at the Hague, June 1824. It is now in the Imperial Library at Paris, whence the fac-simile* we gave of the two varieties of type used by him were taken. It is a small quarto volume, of four gatherings of eight leaves each, the first and last leaf blank. It has twenty-five lines in a full page, the heads of the chapters being printed in red. It commences, "*C'est cy la coppie des deux grans tableaux esquelz tout le contenu de ce livre est en exscript,*" &c. The paper-marks are the Hand with fleur-de-lis above, as in the Delft Bible of 1477, and other books of that time.

The learned bibliographer, Santander, particularly mentions this work†, and in

* *Typography of the Fifteenth Century*, plate xxxvii. No. 77.

† "JEAN BRITO, de Bruges. Cet artiste ne peut être regardé que comme un habile calligraphe; les registres dont nous avons parlé dans l'article précédent, en font deux fois mention; la première, en l'an 1454, et la seconde, en 1492, année de sa mort, dont les frais funéraires coûtèrent la somme de 15 gros; mais un livre de la bibliothèque de M. Meerman, à La Haye, imprimé dans le xv^e siècle, sans date, probablement par Jean Veldener, d'Utrecht, vers l'an 1480, sur une copie faite par ce Jean Briton, ou Jean de Brit, de Bruges, parut à feu l'abbé Ghesquière une raison de le mettre au rang des inventeurs présumés de l'imprimerie, et de prononcer que l'art typographique a été exercé à Bruges, *sicco vers le milieu du xv^e siècle, du moins peu d'années après cette époque*. Voyez *l'Esprit des Journaux*, Juin 1779, page 240.

"Cette assertion de M. Ghesquière n'est fondée que sur une souscription, qu'on lit à la fin du susdit livre.

"Mais indépendamment de ce qu'on n'y trouve pas de date, et que les caractères employés dans cette

doing so endeavours to shew that Brito was not a printer, but merely a calligrapher; and further, that as the work is printed in a type similar to that used by Veldener at Utrecht, he thinks that it was issued from his press, viewing the Latin lines at the close of the work as merely relating to a manuscript production of John Brito. In order to support such an opinion, Santander repudiates the universally acknowledged typographical meaning of the word "*imprimis*," adopted by Brito, considering that the word was not used in its usual sense, but merely as *scripsit* might equally have been. But Brito would not have made use of the word "*instrumenta*," or "*artem mirandam*," if he had intended to refer to mere writing, an art, as applied to the copying of MSS, which gradually ceased to be practised after the invention of printing. Santander appears to have been led into the discussion about Brito in consequence of a *brochure* from the pen of M. Ghesquiere, who desired to place Brito among the claimants to the invention of the Art of Printing.

Now Veldener used two, and perhaps more, sorts of type before the year 1480, the date of his *Fasciculus Temporum*, which is in a similar character to that of the production by Brito. Therefore, if Veldener had printed this work, it is not likely he would have allowed any colophon to be appended to it bearing a double meaning, one interpretation of which would take from him the merit of having been the inventor of a new and peculiarly characteristic type; one which served as a pattern for that used by Caxton and Machlinia, as also for that of the books printed at St. Albans. No type, however, similar to the larger sort used by Brito, has been found in any production from the press of Veldener or elsewhere.

In no prologue or colophon to any of the books printed by Caxton does he lay claim to the title of type-founder. His whole time must have been occupied in

impression sont absolument conformes à ceux des *Epistelen en Evangelien*, et du *Fasciculus temporum*, imprimés par J. Veldener, à Utrecht, en 1478 et 1480, il est évident que ces vers latins, faits par le calligraphe lui-même (Jean de Brit), pour relever la beauté et la netteté de sa copie, n'ont aucun rapport à l'impression faite dans la suite, sur cette copie, par J. Veldener, qui y laisse subsister les dits vers. Ces mots: *Aspice presentis scripture gracia*, démontrent cette vérité; car, de quel front pourrait-il se vanter, ce Jean Briton ou de Brit, de la netteté et de la beauté de cette impression, qui n'est rien moins que belle, et qui est exécutée en mauvais caractères gothiques? Les instruments merveilleux dont le dit Briton s'attribue l'invention, dans les deux derniers vers, sont certainement ceux de l'art calligraphique, car cet art avait aussi ses instruments, dont les calligraphes se servaient pour faire de belles copies: témoins les petites feuilles de cuivre, très-minces, percées, dont le vuide représente les lettres de l'alphabet. J'ai vu un religieux minime se servir de ces feuilles de cuivre, pour écrire des livres de chœur. Quant au mot *Imprimis*, dont Jean Briton fait ici usage, on sait qu'il se trouve fréquemment employé dans les *xv^e* et *xvi^e* siècles, pour signifier *écrire*. Au reste, si ce Jean Briton, mort en 1492, a été un si habile artiste, qui, selon M. Ghesquiere, avait déjà trouvé l'art de l'imprimerie vers le milieu du *xv^e* siècle, d'où vient que, dans l'espace de quarante ans qu'il a survécu à sa prétendue découverte, il ne nous a pas donné une seule impression brillamment exécutée à sa manière? a-t-il pu abandonner tout de suite un art qui faisait l'étonnement de ses concitoyens? Je sais que le susmentionné M. Ghesquiere dit, que l'imprimeur Veldener, peut avoir fait acheter à Bruges les caractères de Jean de Brit, mais cela me ferait croire qu'il avait appris de M. Meerman, dans son voyage à La Haye, la manière aisée de résoudre lentement les difficultés. Voyez à ce sujet ce que nous en avons dit, chap. I, no. XLVIII, et note 37.¹⁹ Santander, *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, vol. I. pp. 333-6.

translating and in superintending, and possibly, to some extent, participating in the labours of his workmen, and correcting the press. Though he pathetically tells us, at the close of his English *Recueil*, most probably his *own acknowledged first* typographical production, that his hand had become unsteady, his eyes dimmed, age creeping upon him, and his body enfeebled; yet he lived not only to print, but to translate and edit more works than almost any man who had preceded him. He must have been a marvellously industrious man, as at the close of the edition of the "*Vitas Patrum*," in 1495, Wynkyn de Worde states that the translation by Caxton was "fynysshed at the last daye of his lyff."

The type used in the two editions of the Histories of Troy, the Seven Penitential Psalms in French, the Game of Chess, 1474, and the History of Jason in French*, is the same. It may be styled demi-secretary gothic. The letters bear evidence of having been cast from a matrix, whereas the type used by Brito was probably, in the first instance, cut by hand, though Veldener may afterwards have had it cast.

If Caxton had had anything to do with the manufacturing of the type used in his English edition of the Histories of Troy, it is not likely that he would have omitted all mention of the matters connected with his labours in learning the art of casting type; but would most probably, in the same peculiarly characteristic manner in which he informed his readers of the arduousness of the task of not only making the translation but of the labour of writing it, have detailed all the difficulties he had to surmount in the art of type-founding.

Inasmuch as the type used by Caxton, in some of the books from his press, is of precisely the same character as that used by Brito, it is not unreasonable to presume that he obtained his type from Bruges, or from the same parties who supplied or manufactured it for John Veldener of Utrecht. Machlinia†, of London, made use of a somewhat similar type, obtained, no doubt, from the same source. Neither Veldener nor Machlinia lay claim to be the makers of that type; nor are we aware that there is any passage in the numerous books printed by Caxton from which we might draw the conclusion that he made his own types. Caxton was a learned man, devoting himself to the translating of works from the Latin and French languages, of which his press affords numerous examples. It is not likely, therefore, that he executed any portion of the mechanical labour beyond that of instructing his workmen in the art of composing the type, and superintending the management of his printing establishment.

Much uncertainty exists as to the precise date when Caxton returned to England, after residing, as he states in his preface to his English edition of the Histories of Troye, "*xxx yere, for the most parte, in the contres of Brabant, flandres, holland,*

* The only known copy of that book is in the Imperial Library at Paris.

† The type used by Machlinia is of the same face, but different in body, the letters being wider apart.

and zeland." That he was at Cologne in 1471 is certain, as he states that he there finished his translation of the "*Recueil*" in September of that year.

Stowe, in mentioning the origin of printing, states (*Chronicle*, ed. 1560), "William Caxton, of London, mercer, brought it into London about the year 1471, and first produced the same in the Abbie of St. Peter, at Westminster; after which it was likewise practised in the Abbies of St. Augustine, at Canterburie, Saint Albans, and other monasteries in England."

Dr. Dibdin states: "There is no account whatever of the typographical labours of Caxton from the year 1471 to the year 1474, although it is extremely probable that a curious and active mind like his, just engaged in the exercise of a newly-discovered and important art, would have turned his attention to a variety of objects for publication. Of the exact period of his return to his native country, no information has yet been obtained. Oldys imagines, that, in the time required to provide himself with presses, types, and all other printing materials, in order to establish and practise the art in his own country,—being now arrived in the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward,—he might pass three years, till he appears, by the edition of the Book of Chess, dated 1474, to be settled in England; which book is reputed to be the first that was ever printed in this kingdom. The first edition of '*The Game of Chess*' does certainly bear the date of 1474; but that it was executed in *this country* there is no kind of evidence upon the face of the book itself."^a

Dr. Dibdin is in error when he states that the edition of "*The Game of Chess*," dated 1474, shews that Caxton was at that time in England. We have no proof whatever, that, at that time, he was in England; the chronicler Stowe merely records, that *about* the year 1471 he was in this country.

There is no proof whatever that the French edition of the Histories of Troy preceded the translation by Caxton. Had it been the case, he would most probably have mentioned such to have been the fact.

The circumstance of the author, Le Fevre, being styled, in the French edition, "Chappellain de mon tres redoubte seigneur Monseigneur le Duc de bourgoigne, en lan de grace mil cccclxiii;" and in the English version, "preest and chapelayn vnto the ryght noble glorious and mighty prince, in his tyme, Phelip duc of Bourgoyne, Braband," &c., merely proves that when Le Fevre composed the work the Duke of Burgundy was *alive*, and that when Caxton translated it the Duke was *dead*.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the two editions are printed in the same type, and that, as we find the paper used for the printing of both to be of a very similar quality, we may fairly presume that the two editions had some connexion with each other. A careful examination of the impressions shews that the type in the English edition presents a sharper appearance than in the French, which affords a mechanical argument in favor of the priority of the English one.

^a Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. i. xev.

At the close of the English edition, Caxton minutely enters, first, into the difficulty of his labours in the translation, and then into the cause of his exercising the duties of a printer. We must bear in mind, that, at that period, Caxton was, as it were, in the household, or employ, of the Duchess of Burgundy, the Duchesse being his great patroness; consequently, as the work of Le Fevre (to whom Caxton was, no doubt, well known) was dedicated to the Duke, Caxton had, no doubt, numerous courtly applicants for his translation. He states:

"Thus ende I this booke whyche I have translated after myn auctor as nyghe as god hath gyuen me connyng to whom be gyuen the laude and preysing. And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery & not stedfast myn eyen dimed with ouermoeche loking on the whit paper, and my courage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath been, and that age crepeth on me dayly, and feebleth all the bodye, and also be cause I have promysid to dyuerce gentilmen, and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastily as I myght this sayd book, *Therfor I have practysed & lerned, at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner & forme as ye may here see, and is not wretton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben*, to thende that every man may haue them atones, ffor all the books of this story, named the Recule of the historyes of Troyes thus empyrnted as ye here see were hegonne in oon daye, and also fynyschid in oon day, whiche booke I presented to my said redoubtid lady as a fore is sayd. And she hath well acceptid hit and largely rewarded me wherefore I beseche almighty god to rewarde her euerlasting blisse after this lyf."

Caxton here distinctly relates, that, in consequence of his having promised to supply his friends with copies of his translation, he practised and learned the Art of Printing; that passage giving full scope to the idea of his having, while so learning the art, *assisted* a printer at Cologne; and at the same time tending to confirm the statement made by Wynkyn de Worde, that he printed the first edition of Bartholomæus.

Though Caxton commenced his translation in 1468, he affirms, in his prologue to the first book, "after that y had made and wretyn a fyve or six quayers. y fyll in dispayr of thys werke, and purposed no more to have contynuyd therein and the quayers leyd a part and in two yere after laboured no more in thys werke and was fully in wyll to have lefte hyt."

Caxton then goes on to state, that, in consequence of his patroness, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, having heard of the translation, she commanded him "to shewe the sayd v. or vi. quayers;" and moreover commanded him "straitly to continue and make an ende of the resydue than not translated."

We have therefore, in these facts, a clear proof that the printing of his translation could not have been commenced before 1470. There is nothing to warrant our believing that he had at that time printed off "v. or vi. quayers" of his translation,

the work of translating and printing then going on at the same time, as may have been the case, when he resolved on printing the work in order to supply his friends with the copies promised to them.

As the French edition bears no prefatory or closing matter conveying any idea at whose charge the book was carried through the press, or by whom it was printed, we may fairly presume that it was intended to be an accurate copy of the original MS., and therefore it became necessary to follow the title-page as originally written, although the circumstance of its implying that the Duke of Burgundy was then living was not correct. It was, in point of fact, an exact reprint of the original manuscript, issued, like hundreds of works printed during the fifteenth century, without any prefatory matter indicative of the printer, or of the place where issued.

In the prefatory title to the English *Recueil*, Caxton informs his readers that he commenced the translation in 1468, and finished it on September 19, 1471, and states at the close of the work, that, after he had printed the book, he presented a copy of it to his Patroness, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy.

We cannot suppose, that, from September 19 to the period when he wrote the note of his visit to his Patroness, Caxton had printed the whole work, though he informed his readers that "*all the books of this story, named the Recule of the histories of Troyes thus emprinted as ye here see were begonne in oon daye and also fynnyshid in oon daye.*"

In our first volume (p. 190), we have had occasion to notice the bombast of Veldener in the publication of the productions of his migratory press. Following the fashion of the day, Caxton has not only, in the prologue to his translation, favoured his readers with some particulars of his life, and of the difficulties he met with in his task, but also in many other of his works has he done the same; his epilogues and colophons being all alike amusingly characteristic.

Dr. Dibdin* gives several illustrations of the early printers making use of marvellous and hyperbolical language in their colophons, evidently with the view of enhancing the importance of the newly discovered art of printing.

Caxton may have intended the passage to convey, that, by means of the art he had then learned and practised, instead of having to wait months for a transcript of the work, a perfect copy of the whole could be obtained in "*oon daye.*"

It may have been, as suggested to us by our friend, Mr. J. Winter Jones, of the British Museum, that Caxton meant it to be understood that the first sheet in *all the copies* was commenced and worked off in *one day*, and that all the copies of the last sheet were also worked off in *one day*; but not that the *whole* volume was begun and finished in *one day*.

Had Caxton, in his title to the English *Recueil*, only stated that his *translation*

* Ames's *Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain*, by Dibdin, vol. i. p. 21, note.

was commenced in 1468, and finished in 1471, we should not be justified in supposing that he did not commence the printing of it until after the latter date. He, however, distinctly mentions his labours as of *two* kinds: his "*translation*" as the *one*, and his "*werke*" as the *other*. We may therefore presume that in the use of the word "*werke*" he referred to the printing of the volume; and that, as at the close of the work he informs his readers of his having printed it, he did not consider it necessary to say more on that subject.

We may consequently, with much fairness, consider that, in 1470, the translation and the printing proceeded simultaneously; and that, instead of the work being printed in "*oon day*," it was produced or seen in *one* day complete, soon after September 1471.

In the early stage of typography hundreds of volumes were issued by various printers without the slightest indication of the printer's name, the period when, or the place at which they were printed or published; the only clue to the discovery of the printer being by the comparison of the character of the type, as we have before stated. Such is the case with a great many of the productions of the press of Caxton, several merely ending "*Explicit per Caxton*."

"*The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers*" is the earliest book yet discovered from the press of Caxton which gives the satisfactory information as to the place and date of its execution. The Epilogue to that work opens, "*Here endeth the book named the Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, emprinted by me William Caxton at Westminster, the year of our lord, M.CCCC.LXXVII.*" It closes very much in the same style as the title of the "*Recueil*:" "*Thus endeth this book of the Dictes and notable wise Sayings of the philosophers late translated and drawn out of the French into our English tongue by my aforesaid Lord the Earl Rivers and Lord Scales, and by his commaundment set in form and imprinted in this manner as ye may here in this book see; which was finished the xxviii day of the month of November, and the seventh year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth.*"

If it be true, as stated in the Life of Caxton in the last edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, p. xcv. that the French and English editions of the Histories of Troy are justly "*admitted to have been printed abroad*," we cannot do otherwise than believe that the Game of Chess, the French edition of Jason, and Les Sept Pseulmes Penitenciales, were also executed abroad; but whether the French versions were printed by Caxton, is a point that cannot be incontrovertibly settled. Certain, however, it is, that no other printer is known to have used the same type as that in which they are printed; and, like the Game of Chess dated 1474, they all have thirty-one lines in a full page.

The paper used for the English Histories of Troy and for the Game of Chess, 1474*, was of the same peculiar texture. Not so, however, in the same degree,

* Caxton opens his preface to the second edition of "*The Game of the Chess*" by stating, that, among

though the paper-marks are of the same character, does the paper of the French editions bear evidence of their having been issued precisely at the same time.

That the French editions were all issued by one person, is pretty evident from their internal appearance. None of them have the smallest prefatory matter, or typographical indication of date, &c. They simply end with the word "*explicit*," as is the case with many of the books printed by Caxton in this country.

As in the title to the English Recueil (begun to be translated at Bruges in 1468) Caxton stated the work to have been "*ended and fynished in the holy cyte of Colen*," 1471, it is generally believed that the book was printed by him at Cologne. Consequently, as in the prologue to the second edition of the Game of Chess (printed in this country), Caxton relates, that, while residing at Bruges, he translated and printed an edition of that work, it is natural to believe that the edition bearing the date 1474 was printed in that city, clearly proving that in 1474 Caxton had returned from Cologne to Bruges; but whether earlier, we have no record. Now the English Recueil and the Game of Chess of 1474 are printed with the same type as the French versions of the Recueil, the Jason, and the Penitential Psalms, all of which may have been printed at Cologne before 1474; but whether by Caxton, or under his direction, there is no proof, though from the several volumes corresponding in all their typographical minutiae, there is every reason to believe they were issued under his supervision.

They may, however, after all, have been printed at Bruges*, as we have no evidence of the residence of Caxton at Cologne after 1471. He may have merely gone to that city for the purpose of learning the art of printing, in consequence of his having again taken up his translation of the Recueil at the request of his patroness the Duchess of Burgundy, his labour having been, as he states, put aside for two years.

There is one remarkable circumstance connected with his typographical labours that we must not lose sight of. It is, that in the British Museum copy of the Game of Chess, of 1474, the paper with the mark of the *Head of the Bull*, pl. Qa, n. 9 (as stated p. 87), is of the *same peculiarly brown and coarse texture* as was used for the

"many noble clerkes" (who) "hane endeuyred them to write and compyle many notable werkes and histories" — "there was an excellent doctour of dyuynite in the royaume of fraunce of the order of theospytal of Saynt Johns of Jherusalem whiche entended the same and hath made a booke of the chesse moralysed. Which at such tyme as I was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaunders cam in to my handes, which whan I had redde and overseen, me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englishe, and in eschewing of ydelnesse and to thende that some which haue not seen it, ne vnderstonde frensh ne latyn, I delybered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge, and whan I had so acheyued the sayd translation, I dyde doo sette in coppyrate a certeyn nombre of them, whiche anon were depessed and sold. wherefore by cause this sayd booke is ful of holson wysdom and requysite vnto euery estate and degree, I haue purposed to empyrate it, shewing therein the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe."

* M. Bernard, as we have noticed, p. 44, note, considers the French Recueil to have been printed by Ulric Zell, and that the types were the production of a Frenchman.

copy of the English Recueil in the same library. From this fact we are led to conjecture, that, when Caxton left Cologne he took with him the remaining stock of the paper unemployed in the printing of his English Recueil (if there printed), using it, as also the same type, in 1474, at Bruges, for the Game of Chess.

If the small quarto tract* intitled "*Propositio, &c.—Johannis Russell—ad Karolum ducem Burgundiae super susceptionis ordinis gasterii*," was printed immediately after the ceremony, which took place in 1469, it would prove the existence of a very similar type to that (invented, as we believe, by John Brito of Bruges, and afterwards used by Veldener at Cologne, and by Caxton in this country) several years earlier than hitherto supposed, and five years before the issue of the Game of Chess in the same type as the two editions of the Recueil and other French works mentioned!

These observations are merely made for the consideration of those who may at any future time consider the matter worth inquiring into. The subject appears to us to be fraught with so much obscurity that we may justly apply to it the well known quotation, "*Stat nominis umbra*," and leave it to the investigation of those more learned than ourselves in typographical minutiae.

It is generally believed, that the Jason was the *third* book printed by Caxton. This appears to us to be erroneous. It is founded merely upon the authority of a passage† in the prologue to the *Golden Legende* of 1483, wherein Caxton, noticing the several works he had *translated*, but not printed, places the History of Jason the third in the list of his translations.

It is believed that the edition of the *Golden Legende*, dated May 1493, was the first work issued by Wynkyn de Worde after Caxton's death, though the *Liber Festivalis* also bears the same date.

That, soon after his death, Wynkyn de Worde, who was one of Caxton's assistants, was in possession of the house in which Caxton carried on his business, is well known. It is conjectured that he was in the service of Caxton when resident at Bruges‡.

Inasmuch as no work in the peculiar type of Caxton was issued with the name of Wynkyn de Worde, we may fairly presume, that, shortly after his death the types used by him were "depeshed." "The space of time," writes§ the editor of the last edition of Ames, "between the death of Caxton and the publi-

* Ames's Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, by Dibdin, vol. i. pp. 11-15, where the tract is fully described, and a fac-simile, pl. viii. given of the first page from the only known copy in the library of the Marquis of Blandford.

† "When I had performed and accomplished divers works and histories, translated out of French and English at the request of certain lords, ladies, and gentlemen, as the history of the Recueil of Troy, the Book of the Chess, the History of Jason, the History of the Mirror of the World," etc.

‡ Ames's Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, by Dibdin, vol. ii. p. 11.

§ Ames's Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, by Dibdin, vol. ii. pp. 11 and 12.

cation of this latter work" (the *Liber Festivalis*, 1493) "was probably devoted by him to the acquisition of new types and materials, and to making arrangements for resuming the business which had been carried on by his master. It is certain that neither his types nor his name have hitherto appeared in any book with a date anterior to 1493; and it is equally certain that his name is not introduced into any colophon printed with his master's types."

We have not thought it necessary to notice the marks upon the paper used by Wynkyn de Worde; but we cannot omit observing, that, in a copy of the "*Vitas Patrum*," printed by him in 1495, we found nearly *fifty* marks from different moulds, the Unicorns being of the most grotesque forms, presenting sixteen varieties. Many of the marks were of a similar character to those in the works printed by Caxton.

Having been irresistibly led into a discussion respecting the types of the publications issued by Caxton, and finding that no work contains a synoptical or comprehensive view of the different types used by him, we think we cannot more appropriately close our inquiries upon the subject than by giving a few lines from some of the productions of his press, wherein he has used different sorts of types.

As it is not our intention to enter into a bibliographical detail of the various editions of the works printed by Caxton, we content ourselves with simply directing attention to the fac-similes in the ensuing plates, Qd, Qe, and Qf, of the various types used by him. No pains having been spared to render them as correct as possible, we hope they will prove useful for future reference.

Not feeling satisfied with the conclusions we had come to, in the preceding sheet, respecting the two* editions of the *Bartholomæus*, we proceeded with the printing of our labours, leaving this sheet (O) unfinished, with the view of afterwards more carefully examining the types in the books printed, about 1470, at Cologne.

Now, therefore, on referring to p. 91, it is seen, that, when alluding to the early Cologne Printers, we omitted mentioning Gotz de Sletzstat, though, in our collections of fac-similes of the types used by the early printers, we have not only specimens of the types employed by him, but of the various letters, large and small, separately,

* At p. 90 it is stated that the edition of fifty-five lines is of a larger size. We find, however, on comparing them, that the difference arises from the copy of the edition with sixty-one lines having been more cut when bound.

FROM COPIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

II

HISTORIES OF THOU &c. (first and second)

HISTORIES DES TROYES, p. 1.

Car begynneth the volume intituled and named
 the newell of the hystories of Troie composed
 and drawen out of divers bookes of latyn in
 to translatyd by the right venerable persone and
 shipfull man. Raoul le seigneur prestre and chapelain
 unto the right noble glorious and mighty prince in
 his tyme Philip duc of Bourgoigne of Embaunt 26

Cy commence le volume intitule le nouveau des hystories
 de troie composee par venerable homme etout le seigneur
 prestre chapelain de mon treschereble seigneur Monseigneur
 le Duc Philippe de Bourgoigne Cy lay la grace .
 mil.ccc. lxxvi. . .

Last two lines of p. 1.

saturne et de Jupiter et de Saturne et de troie et des freres
 de perseus . Et de la merveilleuse bataille de hercule et de

III

GAME OF CHESS, 1474. 1st ed. last page

pout noble protection by hym that is your most humble
 servant/ my grete and thanke And I shall praye almightie
 god for your longe liff a wellfare / wiche he prestre
 And sende you to the accomplisshment of your hye noble .
 joyous and vertuous desire Amen ::
 last day of marche the yer of our lordy gody . a . thousand
 four hundred and lxiiii

IV

GAME OF CHESS, 1640. 2nd ed. last page

beginneth in thys Booke Without further sayeth not as a
 man but as a wisse
 condempn he the chas trophes as heith this that thou wold
 take thesye ensample to amende hym .

Escribit par Cayton

V

FABLES OF A.SOP. 1484.

C Folio 8^r

There begynneth the booke of the subtyl histories
 and fables of Esop whiche were translated out
 of frenche in to Englyshe by wylliam Cayton
 at Westmynster In the yer of oure lord . a .
 1484 .

VI

FABLES OF A.SOP. 1484. Last page.

And thoughte to saye to the lorde / only shal more than to his
 cause and therefore than he shal doze / And thus a goody ons
 there of a good prestre and an honest / And the lorde of
 nyste this booke / translatyd & emperour by me William Cayton
 son at Westmynster in the lorde / And translatyd the right tyme
 of marche the yer of oure lord in 1484
 first yer of the regne of kyng Richard the thirde

XI

SPECULUM CHRISTIANI. - p. 1.

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

Colophon.

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

XII

TENEBRES NOVELLE. Colophon.

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

XIII

BARTHOLOEÏ DE PROP. RECI:

et hinc edition.



Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

XIV

BARTHOLOEÏ DE PROP. RECI:

55 line ed. fol. CCXIII.

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

XV

VASCULI TEMP. 1474. - Ed. 40.

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

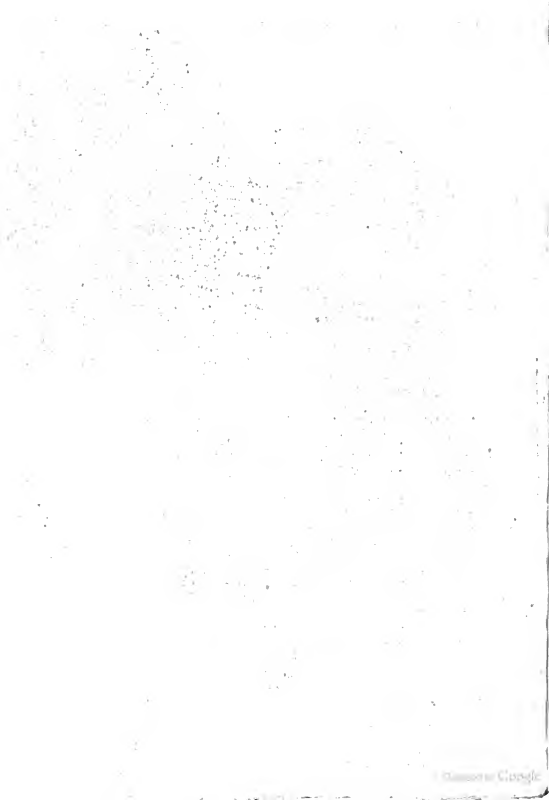
XVI

Incipit Liber Orationis

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani

XVII

Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani
Incipit lib. 2 qui vocatur
Speculum Christiani



taken many years ago for the purpose of identifying the type. We plead guilty therefore, of great negligence in not having given more time to the consideration, of the *fifty-five* line edition of the *Bartholomæus*, ere we ventured (p. 90) so strongly to discredit the opinion of the late Mr. Rodd, of its being "*decidedly printed at Cologne*," for, had we compared the type of that volume with our fac-similes from the two editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed at Cologne in 1474 and 1478, each edition bearing the name of Gotz de Sletzstat, we should have at once seen that the *fifty-five* line edition of *Bartholomæus* was in the same type, without the necessity of having given Mr. Cannon, an assistant in the Library of the British Museum, the trouble of looking over all the various books issued at Cologne bearing the names of the printers. We have much pleasure, however, in recording our thanks to that gentleman for having drawn our attention to the type used by Gotz de Sletzstat.

As all arguments respecting the identification of type are very unsatisfactory without fac-similes, we have, at the close of the fac-similes of the types used by Caxton, Lettou, and Machlinia, given a few lines from the copy of the *fifty-five* line edition of the *Bartholomæus*, side by side with the same number of lines from the *Fasciculus Temporum* printed at Cologne, in 1474, by Gotz de Sletzstat, together with the concluding paragraph from the edition of 1478.

When we find that the edition of the *Bartholomæus* referred to was considered a book of such especial interest as to have been reserved at Windsor, with a very few others, from the library collected by His Majesty George III., it does appear to us extraordinary that no English bibliographer, as the book has generally been considered to be connected with the early labours of Caxton, should have satisfied himself as to the fact of its having been printed at Cologne. It is very true that Mr. Rodd wrote in the copy he sold to the Trustees of the British Museum, such to have been his opinion; but in doing so, he gave no reference to any book printed at Cologne in a similar type. Laire considered it to have been printed at Basle. Dr. Dibdin, in describing the copy in the library of Earl Spencer, states, "that the manuscript note to this copy, which assigns the work to the press of Caxton, is *erroneous*;" and the suggestion of its having been printed by Koelhoff seems equally without foundation. We may therefore be brief in the present place; observing that this edition is executed, apparently, by Ulric Zell, or by some other early Cologne printer, and that it seems to have escaped Panzer.* Though the learned bibliographer adds, "it may be called a magnificent volume," he appears to have had no belief in Caxton having had anything to do with the printing of it.

That we came* to too hasty a conclusion that the book in question was not

* I do not profess to be acquainted with the various types used by the early printers. Whatever little knowledge I may possess is consequent on my having had occasion more particularly to direct my attention to the subject during the last few years, while engaged on the present work.

printed at Cologne, is certain. We thought so, first because the edition is printed in a very large folio*, the Cologne books being usually of a small folio or quarto size; and secondly, because the paper was of the same kind as was used by the printers at Strasbourg.

Having now shewn that the fifty-five line edition of the *Bartholomæus* is printed with type of the same character as that used at Cologne by Gotz de Sletzstat in 1474, we may fairly come to the conclusion that the book was printed in that city, thus clearly, we think, identifying the edition referred to in the oft-quoted lines of Wynkyn de Worde, the successor to our first English printer:

"And also of your charyte call to remembrance
The soule of William Caxton, the first prynter of this booke
In lateu tongue, at Coleyns, hyself to annouce,
That every well-disposed man may thereon loke."

We have also given a fac-simile of the type of the sixty-one line edition of the *Bartholomæus*. It is, as stated, in the same character as the *Pantheologia* of Rainer of Pisa, ascribed by Hain† to Berthold Rodt of Basle. There is, in the British Museum, an edition of the *Quadragesimale* of Robertus Caracciolus de Licio, in the same type, described also by Hain, No. 4419, but not assigned to any printer.

We have preferred thus ingenuously stating the circumstances that led us to the reconsideration of the subject at issue, rather than adopting perhaps the more usual course, of canceling the preceding sheet. We are not ashamed of having formed an erroneous judgment; and our acknowledging it tends to shew our earnest desire to endeavour to be correct in so interesting a point of typographical inquiry.

* The *Spencer* copy (Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. iii. p. 71) is bound up with the *Etymologies* of St. Isidore, executed in the same type.

† Not *Hryn*, as stated p. 91. Note also, that the number there quoted should be 13914 in lieu of 1314.

WATER-MARKS

ON THE PAPER USED FOR THE BLOCK-BOOKS

EXECUTED IN

GERMANY.

THE TWO EDITIONS OF THE ARS MEMORANDI.

PLATE R.

EDITION I. *Spencer Copy.* A *Pair of Scales within a circle* occurs on all the sheets, except *b* and *c*; that on *c* being the *St. Catherine Wheel*, and on *b* the *Head of the Bull*. The wire-lines are very indistinct, and on *d* they run through the centre of the mark.

EDITION I. *Hibbert* Copy.* The *Head of the Bull* and the *St. Catherine Wheel* are the only marks. To the latter there was evidently, from the remains of the lines at bottom, some pendent ornament.

EDITION I. *Botfield Copy.* *Half of a Bull* and *Hand* are the only marks. Owing to the leaves having been backed, the wire-lines could not be traced.

EDITIONS I. AND II. *Royal Library Munich Copies†.* *Head of the Bull* with pendent ornament is the only mark in one copy; the two *Crosses* and *Fleur-de-lis* occurring in another.

EDITION II. *British Museum Copy.* A *Crozier* the only mark.

* Now in the possession of Robert Holford, Esq.

† These marks having been forwarded to me, a few years since, through the kindness of M. Lichtenthaler, the Director of the Royal Library, I avail myself of the opportunity of now using them.

VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE ARS MORIENDI.

PLATE 8.

Spencer and British Museum Copies. The paper used for the small quarto edition of this work is of a very firm texture, and is rendered more so by the leaves having been pasted together, a circumstance which has prevented our being able to trace the marks in the two copies, the only ones, we believe, in this country. The only mark we could see was the half of the *Head of the Bull* in the first leaf of the Museum copy.

Munich Copies.* Nos. 1 to 4. *Bell, Crozier, Anchor, and Unicorn*, occur in one copy, considered at Munich to be the first edition of the work. The *Anchor* is of a different form from any hitherto met with in the Block-Books; and the other three marks occur for the first time. The *Unicorn*, if it may be so denominated, is of very peculiar form.

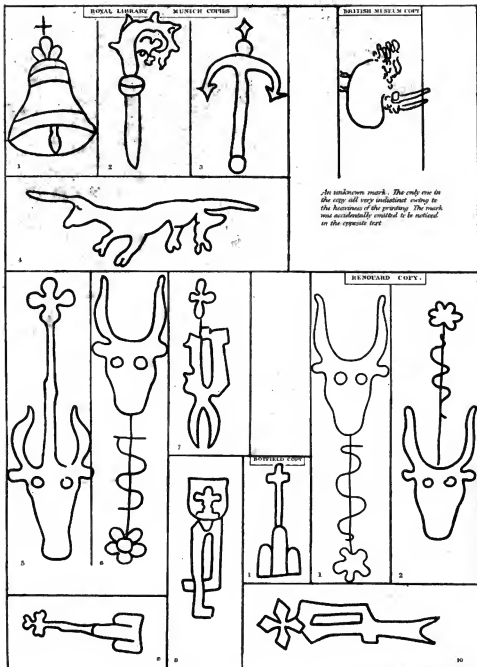
Nos. 5 and 6, *Head of the Bull*, one with ornament above, and the other, a pendent ornament, is from another copy, stated to be the fourth edition.

Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, are from other copies, but the editions were not named. Nothing, however, but a personal examination would have enabled us to decide correctly as to what editions the marks belonged, unless we had the same opportunity of comparing the originals with the detailed descriptions given by us of the several editions, as their possessors or bibliographers will in future have by the publication of our labours.

Botfield Copy. Small three Mounts with Cross above, the only mark. It is similar to No. 9 of the *Munich* copies, and is the only mark which occurs in the copy in the Library of Earl Spencer, mentioned in vol. ii. p. 22. The paper is of a thick and firm texture.

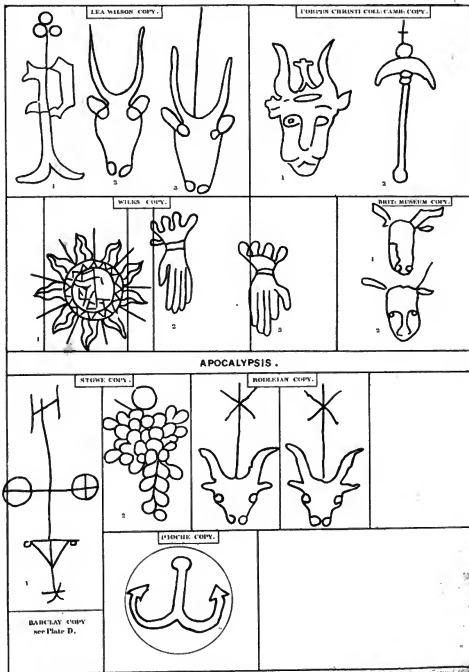
Renouard Copy. Two varieties of the *Head of the Bull* are the only marks. The first is very similar to No. 6 of the *Munich* copies, both, no doubt, of the same edition. The paper used in the *Renouard* copy is of a peculiarly thin texture as compared with the paper used for the Block-Books in general.

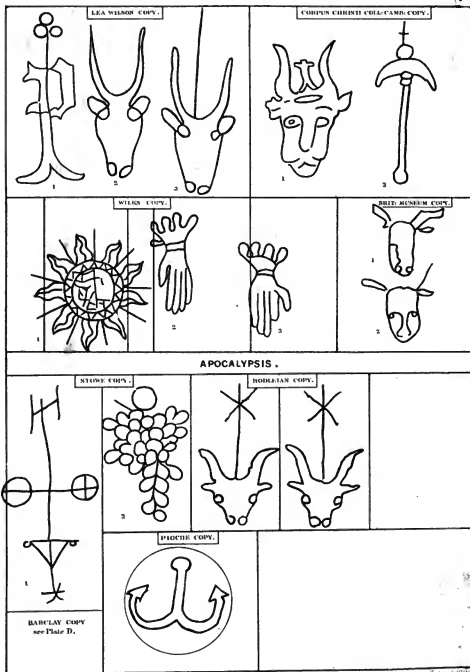
* These marks were also forwarded to me a few years since by the Director of the Royal Library at Munich.



BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

T





EDITIONS OF 'THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

PLATE T.

EDITION VI. *Wilson Copy*. The P of this form is the first instance of our finding it in the Block-Books, as also the *Head of the Bull* of this shape. The smaller one without the Cross occurs only once.

EDITION VI. *Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) Copy*, of the same edition as the *Wilson* copy, has only two marks: the *Head of the Bull*, of a singular, grotesque shape, as also a small *Anchor*, both of which are unlike any other marks we have met with in the Block-Books.

EDITIONS OF ANOTHER CHARACTER.

Wilks Copy. A *Radiated Star* or *Sun*, and the small *Hand*, the only marks that are found in this copy of the edition in the German language, bearing the date 1470. Some inscription or device occupied the centre of the Star, but owing to its indistinctness we could not decypher it.

British Museum Copy. In this copy of the same edition, in the German language, the *Heads* as given are the only marks. They are all of a similar character to the tracings given, and are, like those, very imperfect.

EDITIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

PLATE T. *continued*.

EDITION V. *Stowe Copy*. A *Chariot* or *Plough*, and a *Bunch of Grapes*, the only marks. They appear, for the first time, in the Block-Books in this edition of the *Apocalypse*, the first mark occurring only once.

EDITION V. *Bodleian Copy*, of the same edition. *Head of the Bull*, all of very much the same kind.

EDITION V. *Barelay Copy* of the same edition. I. H. S. the only mark, as particularly noticed in plate D., that plate, with the marks of the edition, having been executed ere our present arrangement of the paper-marks was contemplated.

EDITION VI. The copy of the *Apocalypse* lately purchased, at Paris, by M. Pioche, the Banker, at a public sale, was a duplicate from the well-known collection of M. T. O. Weigel of Leipsic. To the liberality of M. Pioche we are indebted, through the medium of M. Techner, the learned Parisian Bookseller, for

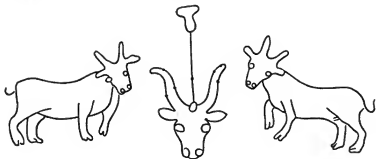
the possession (since the MS. of this sheet was in the printer's hands) of pencil tracings of the first and last pages of that copy, which is coloured in the usual coarse style of the period.

The edition is that of which we have given, in our first volume, p. 25, an enumeration of the pages; an edition which Heineken designates as "*l'édition de Gotwic*," at the same time considering it as one "*qui, si je ne me trompe, surpasse pour son antiquité toutes les précédentes*," though he had previously styled the fifth edition as "*la plus ancienne et véritablement la première*."

Judging from the tracings before us, it is a coarse copy of the *fifth* edition, and, as such, we here enumerate it, giving at the lower part of plate T. the paper-mark that occurs in the now *Pioche* copy. We much regret that M. Weigel has not favoured us, as urgently requested, with tracings of the marks that occur in his copy of the same edition.

ENDKRIST.

Spencer Copy. The full figure of the *Bull* and *Bull's Head*, as below, are the only marks.



QUINDECIM SIGNA.

Spencer Copy. The figure of the *Bull*, as in the preceding work, is the only mark. It is, however, from a mould different from the two above.



DE GENERATIONE CHRISTI.

British Museum Copy. These peculiarly formed *Heads of the Bull* are the only marks.



The tracing below is the only mark found in the *British Museum* copy of the other edition of the *De Generatione Christi*, described by us, vol. ii. pp. 72 et seq. Some of the Heads slightly vary in form.



PAPER-MARKS IN PRINTED WORKS ISSUED IN GERMANY.

PLATE U.

HISTORIA JOSEPHI, &c. *Spencer Copy. Printed by Pfister.*

It must not be supposed that the marks given in this plate are intended to represent those generally on the paper of books printed in Germany. Such would occupy probably more than one hundred plates! Our object is here merely to shew that the marks in those books, of which fac-similes have been given with the view of illustrating the character of the design found in the Block-Books of Germany, are also occasionally of the same species. Thus, in the *Historia Josephi* and in the *Biblia Pauperum*, we find the *Head of the Bull* of a form nearly similar to those in the *Ars Memorandi* and *Ars Moriendi*. We also find, in the books printed by Schussler at Augsburg, the same kind of marks, though of a still larger size, of which we have given two tracings in this plate.

SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS. *Printed by Richel.*

We do not think it necessary here to make any observations upon these marks, further than that the *Plough* or *Car*, and the *Head of the Bull*, of form Nos. 3 and 6, and the mark No. 4*, are different from any that we have hitherto met with in the Block-Books.

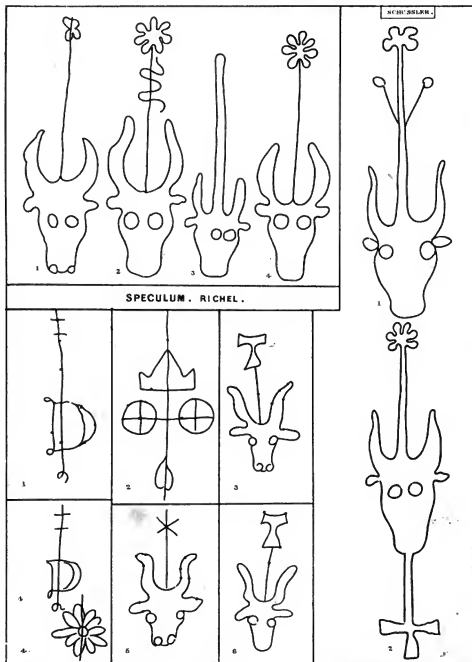
PLATE V.

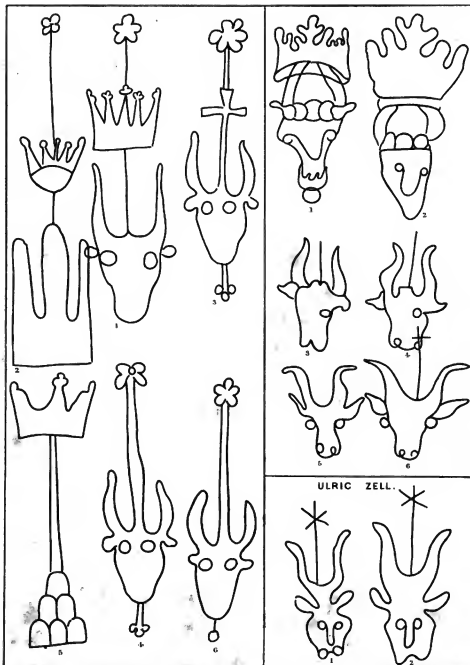
SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS. *Printed by Gunther Zainer.*

The paper used by Gunther Zainer at Augsburg is generally found, as we have before noticed, to have marks of the *Head of the Bull* of the same peculiar character. The six specimens here given are taken from the *Spencer* copy of the *Speculum* printed by Richel, and serve to shew how numerous were the marks employed.

JOHN ZAINER of Ulm appears to have obtained some of his paper from a different mill. The six marks here given are selected from many tracings equally grotesque. Some of the marks in the same volumes whence these marks were taken, had others of the *Bull's Head*, similar to those in the books printed by Gunther Zainer.

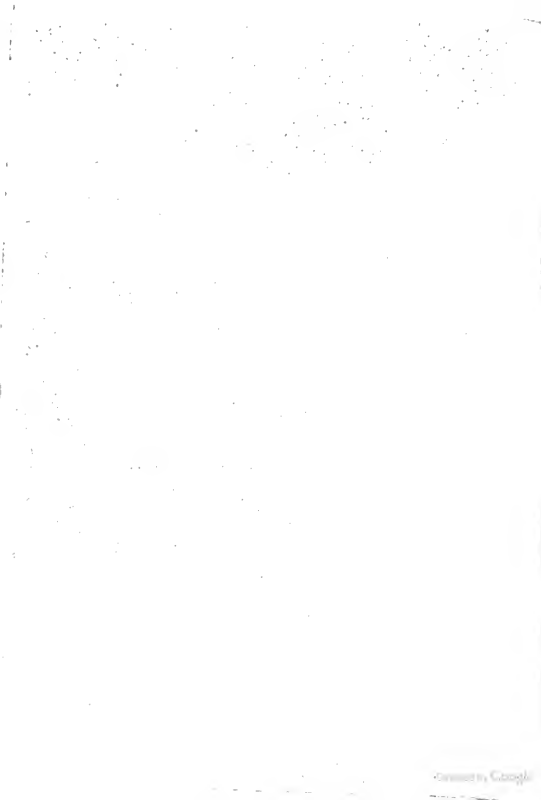
The two Heads at the close of the plate are merely given as specimens of the peculiar form so generally found, though varying in size, in many of the small quarto works printed at Cologne by Ulric Zell.





The above six marks are from the *Speculum* printed by Gunther Zainer, not by Michel as stated in the opposite text.

Revised by the author, 1900.



MEMORANDA

RESPECTING

THE PAPER-MARKS OCCURRING IN THE BLOCK-BOOKS

EXECUTED IN

GERMANY.

ANCHOR.

THE ANCHOR *alone* is seldom found on any paper but that manufactured in the Netherlands, though that paper may have been used in other countries for the purpose of printing. We do not, however, find the *Anchor* of frequent use in the Block-Books or early typographical productions of Germany.

In the Royal Library at Munich there is a copy of the edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, placed by Heineken as the first of that work. That edition is described by us in our second volume, pp. 26 et seq. The copy at Munich wants the first and last leaves. The same leaves are deficient in the copy at Wolfenbuttel, from which Heineken took his description and fac-simile. We forgot to state, when at p. 35 we reviewed the notice given by M. Guichard respecting the various editions, that he thought the *Munich* copy "*est peut-être le même que celui de Wolfenbuttel.*" After having placed that edition as one we believed to have been issued in Germany, we obtained, through the kindness of M. Liehtenthaler, tracings of the marks on the paper of the copies in the Munich Library, the marks of the copy mentioned being an *Anchor*, a *Bell*, a *Crozier*, as also a nondescript animal, called by M. Guichard a squirrel! though described by us as a *Unicorn*.

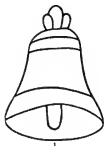
On referring to pl. S. it will be seen that over the shank of the Anchor is a Star, which is, we think, an error in tracing the Cross on the top. The marks of the *Bell* and *Crozier* are of early fabric. The first is found occasionally in the Account Books at the Hague, from 1370 to 1422, as also in documents at Harlem, dated 1417-1418 and 1427. The second is in the Church Register at Harlem, 1436, though of different form. Not finding, therefore, any of the marks in others of the German Block-Books, we are inclined to think the paper used in the *Munich* copy of the *Ars Moriendi* to be of Flemish rather than of German manufacture.

Presuming that the *Anchor*, *Bell*, *Crozier*, and *Unicorn*, are the marks in the Munich copy referred to, of an edition which we have placed as the *last* of the work, and of German issue, we are yet free to confess that our views respecting the edition

require further reconsideration, which can only be obtained by a personal examination of the copy. In assigning the editions of the various Block-Books either to the Netherlands or to Germany, we have done so without reference to the paper-marks; and in no instance, except the one in question, have we found our views unsupported by the local character of the marks.

The *Anchor* in the *Corpus Christi College* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* is peculiar in form, and not unlike those in the *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 37 and 45, the latter printed at Paris in 1475.

The *Anchor within a Circle* is a not unfrequent mark in books printed in Germany and Italy during the fifteenth century. It was probably of Italian origin, very many of the marks used in paper there manufactured being enclosed within a circle or ring. We have frequently found it in Italian Manuscripts of the early part of the fifteenth century, though we do not happen to have the tracing of any one from a *dated* manuscript of that period. It may have been used in Italy as one of the earliest marks on paper manufactured in that country.

 BELL.


Among the tracings in our possession of marks made by M. Koning from paper in the Archives at Harlem, we find the *Bell*, the documents wherein it occurs being dated 1417-1418 and 1427, of which one is given above, No. 1. Slightly varying in form, the *Bell* is found in the Account Books at the Hague; first, from Amsterdam and Gouda, for 1370-1, as given, No. 2; next, of a size a little smaller than No. 1, in Accounts of Zwaluw, Lewenhorst, and Voorne, 1411 to 1426. It is also, of much the same form as No. 1, in an autograph letter, in the Tower of London, to the Bishop of Durham, dated 1420; and of both forms, a frequent mark in the MS. mentioned particularly in this volume at p. 72. The *Bell* in the *Munich* copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, pl. S., is of a similar character to the first of those here given.

SHIELDS OF ARMS.

No Shields of Arms, as a Paper-Mark, occur in the Block-Books of Germany; at least we have not met with any in the copies we have had the opportunity of examining.

HEAD OF THE BULL.

The marks of the larger *Head of the Bull*, with high stem rising between the horns, and having on the top either a flower or a cross, or a pendant ornament below, as in the *Munich* and *Renouard* copies of the *Ars Moriendi*; the *Hibbert*, *Spencer*, and *Munich* copies of the *Ars Memorandi*; the *British Museum* copy of the *De Generatione Christi*,—are all peculiar to Germany; none of the kind being found in any of the Account Books at the Hague, nor in the Block-Books, or any books printed in the Netherlands. We have numerous tracings of this large head from Gorman Manuscripts ranging in date from 1430 to 1490. It may have been used at a much earlier period. The one at the side was traced by us several years since from a Manuscript intitled "*Decisiones Rotæ*," of about 1376-1381.



The works issued from the presses of Albert Pfister, Gunther Zainer, and Bamblér, afford numerous instances of the *Heads of the Bull* of a very peculiar form, of which a few examples are given in plates U and V. Many of those on the paper of the books printed by John Zainer and Bamblér assume the most grotesque shapes, as seen in pl. V. Their variety is so great that we could give as many specimens as would occupy several plates.

When noticing, p. 59, the mark of the *Scales*, we stated that the upper part was variously ornamented. We might easily fill a page or more with the description merely of various ornaments that are found on the top of the stem and beneath the nose of the *Head of the Bull* of the same character as that we are now discussing, as will be readily imagined from the few specimens we have given in plates R, S, U, and V.

The *Head of the Bull* in the *Lea Wilson* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, though resembling many of an early period, is yet of peculiar form in respect to the ears, and which we have not met with in any other of the Block-Books. It very much resembles the one at the side, taken from the paper of the *Quadragesimale* of Caracciolus de Litio, printed by Valdarfer, at Milan, about 1472.



The small Head, which is found in the *British Museum* copy of the 1471 edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, is of droll fabric, leaving us nothing to note regarding it.

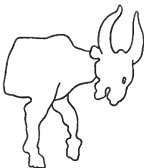
The grotesque *Heads of the Bull* in the copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* in *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, and in the *British Museum* copy of the *De Nativitate Christi*, though evidently of later date, partake very much of the character of those given at p. 48, and are not unlike the one at the side, taken from a copy of the *Eggesteyn Bible*.



We do not think it necessary to make any remarks on the smaller *Heads of the Bull*, in the *Bodleian* copy of the fifth edition of the *Apocalypse*, or elsewhere, the mark being one of very general use.

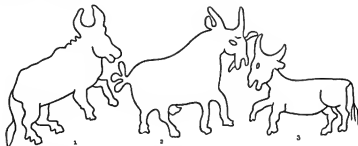
FORE PART OF THE BULL.

The *Bolfield* copy of the *Avs Moriendi* is the only instance of our having met with the mark of the *Fore Part of the Bull*. Of a larger form, the mark appears to have been used at an early period. It occurs in a few instances in the *Account Books* at the *Hague*, the tracing at the side being from the *Accounts* from *Schoonhoven*, 1372-3. It is also found in the *Voorn Account*, 1385-6.



THE BULL.

While noticing the mark of the *Bull*, which is found in some copies of the *Mazarine Bible*, we stated that Calixtus III. adopted that figure as his Arms. The Archives at the Hague afford us examples of the Bull being found in the Accounts from Wyck as early as 1374, from which No. 1 in the subjoined tracings is taken. No. 3, of smaller size, is from the South Holland Accounts of 1439-40. No. 2 is taken from a letter in the Tower of London, from Henry VI. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Eltham (1443-50). Another letter there, to the Bishop of London (1461-67), has a smaller Bull on it, as also has one to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1450-54).



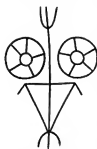
In no instance, among the Block-Books assigned by us as the productions of the Netherlands, have we found the mark of the *Bull*. In the Bible of 1462, printed by Fust and Schoeffer, one occurs of very similar form to that in the *Mazarine Bible*; and it has been found in the books printed at Cologne by Ulric Zell. In the *Typographia Cent. XV.*, No. 74, is a tracing of a Bull of a totally different form. It is from the Dante of 1477, printed at Venice. Jansen also gives one (No. 261) from paper used by Jenson at Venice.

ST. CATHERINE WHEEL.

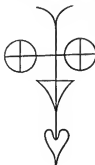
Having minutely described this mark at pp. 52-3, we need only here notice the fact of its occurring in the *Spencer* and *Hibbert* copies of the *Arts Memorandi*.

CAR OR PLOUGH.

The CAR or CHARIOT was the Arms of the CARARA FAMILY.



Whether the mark found in the *Stowe* copy of the fifth edition of the *Apocalypse* is intended to represent a Car or Plough, we know not. A similar mark, though shorter, as at side, is found in the Account Books of the Hague (Abbey of Leeuwenhorst), 1416 to 1418; also in Accounts from North Holland and Arkel of the same dates. It is also found in Accounts at Harlem, 1447; and in a letter, in the Tower of London, to the Bishop of Bath, 1467-73. On the paper of books printed during the fifteenth century it occurs but very seldom. That given in the *Typographia Cent. XV.*, No. 60, from the Valerius Maximus printed by Vindelín de Spira in 1471, is differently formed at the end, as also is that in the *Speculum* printed by Richel, pl. V.

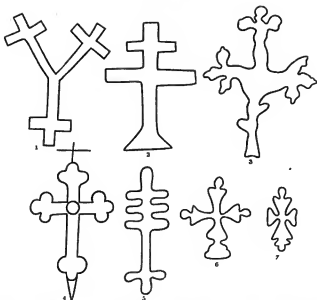


Our second tracing is taken from the work of Jansen, No. 131, it being from a copy, as he states, of Augustinus de Civitate Dei, printed at Mentz, by Peter Schoeffer, in 1473. It may be correct, but we have not met with it of this particular form.

We could give many varieties of this peculiar mark.

CROSSES.

The plain Cross, as in one of the *Munich* copies of the *Ars Memorandi*, we have not met with elsewhere. Other Crosses of various forms were used as marks during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as in the tracings in the ensuing page.



No. 1 is from a very early but undated Italian Manuscript we met with some years since; No. 2, from the Putte and Stryen Accounts of 1389, at the Hague; No. 3, from those of the Counts of Holland, 1408-9; a very similar mark occurring in a letter, in the Tower of London, to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1410-12); No. 4 is from a letter, in the Tower, to the Archbishop of York, 1452-3; Nos. 5, 6, and 7, are from early Italian Manuscripts. Other crosses, of various shapes, are found as Paper-Marks.

CROZIER.

In the *Munich* copy of the *Ars Moriendi* we find the Crozier, see pl. S. n. 2. It is of very uncommon occurrence. The tracing at the side is from a document at Harlem, dated 1432; the same mark being also found in the Church Register of that place for the year 1436. One of different form occurs at the Hague, in the Accounts of 1470, from Bommenee. We find the *Crozier*, with *Horn* appended to it, in books printed at Cologne by Bartholomeus de Unckel and Conrad de Homborch; see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, No. 95.



FLEUR-DE-LIS.

A small mark in one of the *Munich* copies of the *Ars Memorandi* is the only instance that occurs (as far as we know) in the Block-Books of Germany.

GRAPES.



The Account Books from Amsterdam, of 1431-33, at the Hague, afford the first and only instance of the mark of the form of that in the tracing at the side, if it can come under such denomination of *Grapes*. It has more the appearance of a *Tree*, unless it is intended for a cluster of three bunches of grapes, a form it may be supposed to assume when reversed. Varying in size, but retaining the form, the single bunch of Grapes is found in the Accounts from *Tezel*, 1443, and *Voorne*, 1455. That occurring in the *Stowe* copy of the fifth edition of the *Apocalypse* differs in form from that in the Mazarine Bible of about 1455, from which the subjoined tracing is taken. The *Grapes* occur in books printed at Mentz, Strasburg, and Nuremberg; see *Typographia Cent. XV.*, Nos. 44, 65, 67, and 69. We have found it also, varying in form and size, in books printed at Basle and Cologne, and in the productions of Caxton; not, however, in any book printed in the Netherlands.



THE HAND.

The small Hand is found in the *Botfield* copy of the *Ars Memorandi*, an edition which was probably not issued until 1470 or 1480, so that we do not feel it necessary to add to what we have already written upon this mark. The Hand, differing in form, is also found in the *Wilks* copy of the edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, 1470.

THE THREE MOUNTS.

This mark occurs in the *Munich* and *Botfield* copies of the *Ars Moriendi*, editions probably not issued until the latter part of the fifteenth century. Though, at p. 58,

we have only given one example of this mark, we could have given specimens shewing a great variety in size and form, ranging in date from the middle of the fourteenth to almost the close of the fifteenth centuries.

P.

We have, at pp. 75-9, entered so fully into the purport of the letter P mark, that we need here only state that the example of it in the *Lea Wilson* copy of the edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, pl. T., is comparatively of late fabric. Of those, however, in the *Munich* copies of the *Ars Moriendi*, pl. S., it is not fair to judge without seeing the paper, though we feel pretty sure that the one, No. 8, is not earlier than 1470 or 1480.

The subjoined mark (No. 1) will be recognised as occurring sometimes in the works printed by Richel at Basle (see plate V.), Schussler at Augsburg, Conrad de Homborch at Cologne, Jenson at Venice, and in books printed with the type containing the peculiarly-formed and well-known letter R. The earliest instance of our meeting with the mark is in a copy of Augustinus de Sancta Virginitate, a small quarto volume, supposed to have been printed by Gutenberg before 1460. It was also the only mark in one copy of the *Catholicon* of Balbi of that date. If reversed, with the double cross below, it might serve as a P; and as such we have sometimes been inclined to think that it might have been intended to represent the initial for Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, who ascended the pontifical chair in 1458. As it is now placed it may be taken for a D.

Our observations have been drawn to this mark in connexion with the frequently used letter P, in consequence of our meeting with the adjoined mark (No. 2) among the tracings made by Mr. Ottley from the Archives at Harlem, to the side of which Mr. Ottley affixes "1430," as the date of the document whence he took it. Now that, if turned over, might be taken for a C or G.



1.



2.

PAIR OF SCALES.

As at p. 59 we have before noticed this mark, we will merely observe that the *Scales*, in the *Botfield* copy of the *Ars Memorandi*, is constantly found in books towards the end of the fifteenth century.

RADIATED STAR, or SUN.

The *Wills* copy of the 1470 edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* affords the only instance we have met with of that mark. That in the *Bohn* copy of the fourth edition of the *Apocalypse* is of a different form. Through the kindness of a correspondent, near Coventry, we are enabled to give the mark at the side. It is taken from one of the Court Rolls of the Manor of Ampleforth, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, dated in the fifteenth year of the reign of Edward the Fourth. The initials in the centre are evidently I. H. S.



Having now come to a conclusion of our notices on the various Paper-Marks that occur in the several copies of the Block-Books we have been able to examine, we much fear that our investigations have not been productive of that result which may have been anticipated.

On entering, comparatively, a new field of antiquarian research, we neither promised much, nor boasted of our abilities to arrive at any positive conclusion as to the precise period of the issue of the various editions of the Block-Books, by reference to the marks on the paper.

We have, however, scrupulously placed before our readers nothing but what has come under our own immediate examination; consequently, as may be supposed, our means of investigation have been very confined, the duties of our occupation in business not permitting that undivided attention necessary to enable us to make ourselves masters of a subject of such unlimited research and illustration.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

THE revival of Art and Literature, after a comparative darkness during ten centuries, was the herald of a mechanical power destined for the promulgation of truth in all parts of the world.

It was, however, at the commencement, rather a revival of luxuries among the higher classes. Kings, Princes, and Nobles, revelled in the gorgeous decorations of their palaces, their persons, and their attendants. Cathedrals and churches became the source of employment to artists well skilled in the rudiments of Byzantine Art. In Italy, Guido da Sienna, Cimabue, Giotto, and others of their period, adorned the walls of those edifices with representations of scriptural and traditional subjects by painting; soon after followed by the sculptures of Ghiberti, Pisano, Donatello, Benedetto da Maiano, and other men equally eminent.

The labours of the Scribes, the Illuminators, and Miniature Painters, were also again called into operation. The Palaces and the Cloisters were soon the receptacle of classical, historical, and biblical manuscripts, rivalling the caligraphic and artistic skill of former centuries.

Those luxurious products of resuscitated art were, however, confined to a few spots in the globe. They tended to imbue the minds of the lower classes with a feeling rather of fear than of reverence. The people generally were still in the same unenlightened state as their forefathers, though the time was fast approaching when out of those to them then forbidden luxuries, would arise a blessing to enlighten humanity.

The religious dissensions that spread over all parts of Europe brought forth powers destined to effect a change in the faith, not merely of Kings, Princes, and Nobles, but of Man in general, and to create an almost universal thirst for knowledge. It was at the commencement of the fourteenth century that Universities began to be established—the spirit of popular education was awakened. The

advocates of Christianity adopted the same means of arousing the minds of the unenlightened as are now used by the Missionaries in China, Africa, and other parts of the world. One of the earliest methods was by the circulation of engraved images of Saints and representations of devotional subjects. These were probably issued as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Soon after this, the Scriptures were promulgated by means of pictorial representations of many of the histories related in the Bible, such being selected as were most likely to attract the attention of the untutored mind. Hence the works that have formed the subject of these volumes, works bibliographically known as *Block-Books*, a name expressive of the fact that the subjects of which they are composed were engraved on blocks of wood.

The skill displayed in the designs and decorations of the Manuscript Bibles, Hours, &c., executed in the Low Countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is far superior to that in similar productions of Germany of the same period. Many of the miniature paintings in the Flemish Books of Prayer, towards the latter part of the fifteenth century, are second only to the works of Giulio Clovio and other of the most distinguished artists of the Italian school; while those of an earlier period bear a close affinity to early Norman, French, and English Art.

The *Block-Books*, however, cannot be considered as exhibiting the artistic skill either of the Low Countries or of Germany. With the exception of the earliest editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Ars Moriendi*, and the *Cantica Canticorum*, they can be regarded as little more than the rude productions of the ordinary wood-engravers (*Kartenmachers* and *Briefmahlers*); in the same way as the coarser engravings in the lower class of periodical literature of the present day are to be compared with the better designs that now monthly and weekly appear in the Journals of Art and Literature. This observation is, however, more applicable to the *Block-Books* of Germany than to those of the Low Countries, because many of the former were issued at a later period, when Germany abounded with artists, and doubtless with men more skilled in the art of wood-engraving than were those by whom the books handed down to us were executed.

The fact that there were no less than eight editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, all taken from the same designs, proves that they were circulated to a great extent. Thousands of impressions may have been distributed, though but few copies have been preserved. They probably met with the same fate as many of the copies of the

Bible distributed in all parts of the world through the aid of various Societies for the Distribution of the Scriptures. Cut up and used by the unenlightened, in foreign parts, for domestic and other purposes*, it may be a question whether one out of a thousand outlived its first owner. Such works, however, have their mission; and the one seed may have the same influence in furthering the object for which they are now designed, as did a single copy of the many Block-Books issued among a people with whom religious dissensions were almost their only occupation.

The Hollanders and Flemings were not behind other countries in their knowledge of biblical history. Though Harlem, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges were among the prominent places which suffered, like Mentz and other cities in Germany, during the religious wars, we find that the Bible was not only translated into the Flemish or Low Dutch language, in prose, but also in verse, the author of the latter living at Bruges. I refer to two versions of the Scriptures as having come under my more immediate observation at the sale of the Heber Collection of Manuscripts in 1836, from the catalogue of which the subjoined descriptions are taken, the numbers being 330 and 329. They were purchased for the British Museum, the one for £105, and the other for £88. 4s.

"THE BIBLE, IN FLEMISH VERSE, CALLED THE RYM BIBEL. BY JACOB VAN MAERLANDT OF DAMNE, NEAR BRUGES, IN FLANDERS."

"Manuscript of the fifteenth century, upon vellum, with ornamented capitals. This metrical version of the Scriptures was completed (according to an ancient copy of this MS.) in the year 1270. Except the Waldensian translation in the Provençal language, it is consequently the most ancient version in existence, in the vernacular idiom, and must have preceded by a century those of Raoul de Presles, of John Trevisa, or the Hermit of Hampole."

"BIBEL, OVERGESET WTEN LATIN IN DUYTSCH, MET HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA."

"Manuscript of the fifteenth century, upon vellum, containing the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, and Tobit; ornamented with an immense number of curious and brilliantly illuminated miniatures.

"This translation into the Flemish or Low Dutch language, with a gloss, is undoubtedly one of the first that appeared in prose in a northern idiom. Portions of it were issued very early in the fourteenth century; consequently, upwards of

* I recollect hearing that, during the late Caffre war, the Bibles and tracts distributed by the Missionaries were used for making cartouches.

one hundred years before the invention of Printing, and more than two centuries previous to Luther's new version.

"The text was ultimately adopted for the Bible printed at Delft in 1477."

In alluding to the above Manuscripts, it is more correct to state that they are not literal translations of the Bible, but rather versions of the *Historia Scholastica* of *Peter Comestor*; a circumstance that does not affect the fact of the Hollanders and Flemings being as far advanced in biblical literature as their neighbours in Germany.

The object of the present work has been an attempt to describe more fully than has hitherto been done, the various editions of the Block-Books, noting, as far as possible, the variations in each edition. In order that my readers might form their own ideas of the peculiar, nay, extraordinary character of those works, the notices of their contents are accompanied with fac-similes of some portion of each work.

Independently of the great interest created by the object for which the Block-Books were designed, namely the Propagation of the Scriptures (being indeed, as it were, the forerunner of the Reformation), they are extremely valuable as exhibiting the first attempts at engraving in wood in the form of books, many of them having preceded the invention of the art of Printing by moveable type.

Holland, in claiming to itself the invention of that art, cannot have stronger evidence than the plain matter-of-fact testimony recorded by one of the earliest printers in Germany, Ulric Zell, who, when causing the art to be chronicled in 1499, as having been perfected at Mentz, most honourably, and evidently intentionally, stated that it owed its origin to Holland. In the numerous books printed by Ulric Zell, no allusion to the art of printing occurs. Unlike those of some of his contemporaries, the colophons of his productions are silent upon the subject. It will be found, however, that many of the books from his press are merely copies of theological manuscripts, written many years before, and consequently have no prefatory matter from the pen of the editor or printer. They more frequently end in the usual mode adopted in thousands of volumes issued during the fifteenth century, with the title of the work preceded by the word '*Explicit*.' Very few of the productions of Ulric Zell bear his name, or any indication of place or date. That Zell must have been

well acquainted with the particulars respecting the invention of printing, is more than probable. The art, however, becoming, as it were, almost immediately practised in various parts of Europe, its originator was lost sight of. Zell, no doubt, exercised the art many years before 1466, in which year he printed at Cologne an Exposition upon the Fifth Psalm by St. Chrysostom. It is the earliest book that bears the name of Zell, and is believed to be the first book printed at Cologne, the art having been brought to that city by him. As a printer he must have been well acquainted with the nature of the *Donatuses*, of which he made mention in his communication to the author of the Cologne Chronicle, stating that those works were printed many years before the art was brought to perfection in Germany. He could allude to no others than those printed with moveable type; and as those *Donatuses* are printed in that peculiarly characteristic type, allowed by everybody to be DUTCH, it is difficult to understand how the palm of the ACTUAL ORIGIN of the ART OF PRINTING could be ceded to any other country but HOLLAND.

Subjoined is a literal translation of the original passage from the Cologne Chronicle*, given in the preceding volume, p. 177; portions of it having been translated and particularly referred to in the remarks preceding the notices of the *Donatuses* issued in Holland, vol. i. pp. 129-30.

"Item. This most revered art (of printing) was first discovered at Mentz in Germany; and it is a great honour to the German nation that such ingenious men were found in it. This happened in the year of our Lord MCCCXI; and, from that time till the year MCCCCL, the art, and what belongs to it, was rendered more perfect. In the year of our Lord MCCCCL, which was a golden year (or Jubilee year), then men began to print; and the first book printed was a Bible in Latin, and it was printed in a larger character than that in which men now print mass-books."

"Item, although the art is [was] invented at Mayence as aforesaid, in the manner it is now commonly used, the first idea originated, however, in Holland, from the Donatuses, which were printed there even before that time; and from out of them is [has been] taken the beginning of the aforesaid art, and is [has been] invented much more masterly and cunningly than it was according to that same method, and is become more and more ingenious."

* The Cologne Chronicle was not printed by Ulric Zell, as inadvertently stated, vol. i. p. 129. In lieu, therefore, of printed by, read as related by.

BOOKS PRINTED IN HOLLAND

DURING

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IN my endeavour to trace the same character in the xylographic productions assigned by me to Holland and the Low Countries, with that in the wood-engravings illustrating the printed works issued in Holland during the fifteenth century, I purpose commencing with the latest of the works referred to, and then to endeavour to discover about the period at which the Block-Books were issued. So likewise in respect to the Printed and Block productions of Germany.

It is a fact worthy of particular notice, that, though we have irrefragable proof, in the celebrated Psalter of 1457, of printing having been practised in that year at Mentz, and soon after in other cities of Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, no work has been discovered, as having been printed in the Low Countries, bearing an anterior date to 1472*. The earliest dated book printed at Harlem (the city claiming the invention of the art) bears 1483†; while in Amsterdam printing does not appear to have been in general use until 1523, though Santander‡ mentions having had in his possession a small octavo volume printed in that city, which he considered was issued before 1500. He was also of the same opinion with respect to another volume§, printed by Pietersoen.

DER BIEN BOECK. *Printed by Peter van Os, at Zwolle,* 1498,

is the first work that comes, I think, into the chronological view of works illustrating, or in any way being connected with, the Block-Books. This work has, by way of frontispiece, a wood-engraving, impressed from portions of the original wood-blocks of two of the engraved pages of one of the early editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* (see fac-simile, vol. i. plate XLIII.) I am not aware of any other work

* Antwerp, 1472; Bruges, 1473; Brussels, 1473; Delft, 1477; Gouda, 1477; Harlem, 1483; Leyden, 1483; Louvain, 1473.

† See vol. i. p. 193, note.

‡ "*Tractatus fratris Dionysii de Conversione Peccatoris*, qui porte effectivement toutes ces marques caractéristiques d'une impression faite avant l'an 1500." *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, 8 tom., 1807, vol. iii. p. 518.

§ *Id. ib.*, p. 519.

in which any of those old blocks were used. If Peter van Os became possessed of any of the several series of wood-blocks used for that work, he probably found that they were too much worn to be available, just as Veldener did with respect to those of the *Speculum*, and consequently they were either destroyed or rejected.

CONSOLATIO PECCATORUM. *Printed at Harlem,*

1484,

is a remarkable volume. It is, I believe, the second dated book which bears proof of having been printed in that city. Whether the *Formulae Novitiorum*, there printed in 1483, by Johannes Andreæ (Andriessen) contained any engraved illustrations, I know not, there being no copy of that work in this country to which I can refer, nor am I able to ascertain the character of the type with which it is printed. The text of the *Consolatio Peccatorum* is illustrated with above seventy wood-engravings, of two of which we have given fac-similes, vol. I. plate XLIV. By those fac-similes it is manifest that the wood-blocks from which the impressions were taken must have been in a most deteriorated condition, the borders being much broken, and the designs, in various parts, materially injured. Such is the case with all the engravings throughout the work; consequently I am fully justified in believing that the blocks must have been in use very many years before, as otherwise they would have presented a very different appearance. No work has as yet been found wherein the same engravings occur. Their resemblance in character and execution to those in the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum* is too remarkable to pass unnoticed; but the fact of the same designs being repeated over and over again, almost proves that the engravings were not originally executed for the illustration of the text: independently of which, many of the illustrations are made up of several blocks, as is apparent in the two fac-similes I have given, each of the subjects being evidently composed of four detached parts.

It is, however, more to the peculiarly characteristic style of the engravings than to the period when the illustrations were executed, that attention is especially requested. The early editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and more particularly those of the *Speculum*, exhibit the same school of design and engraving. The circumstance of illustrations in so similar a style being found in one of the two earliest known typographical productions of Harlem, proves that the art of wood-engraving was practised in that city at a much earlier period than is generally supposed.

The *Consolatio Peccatorum* was probably printed by Jacob Bellaert, it being in the same type as the Dutch edition of the *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, which appeared in the following year, bearing his name in the colophon as the printer. As further illustrative of the xylographic art being exercised in Harlem, the edition of the *Bartholomæus* is equally interesting, owing to its containing eleven wood-engravings, one of which is given in fac-simile, plate XLV. It represents the five ages of man, the design and execution of the others being much in the same style.

The "*BOEC DES GULDEN THROES*", issued at Harlem in 1484, was also evidently printed by Bellaert, as on the last leaf the same woodcut device, the arms of the city of Harlem, but without a border, occurs as in the *Bartholomæus*. It is also in the same type, but has only thirty-nine lines in a full page in lieu of forty. The text is illustrated with some small wood-engravings, in the same style as those in the other Harlem books already mentioned.

Inasmuch as Gerard and Claes Leeu used at Antwerp, in 1487 and 1488, type obtained from the same matrices as that from which Jacob Bellaert of Harlem was supplied, the place of its manufacture becomes a matter of uncertainty. This is a point, as far as relates to Harlem, of some typographical interest; because, in the event of any book being found to be printed with type of the same fount as was in use at Antwerp before 1484, we could not do otherwise than consider the type then used at Harlem to have been obtained from Antwerp, in the absence of one with an earlier date from Harlem.

Of the *Life of Christ*, printed at Antwerp in 1487 by *Gerard Leeu*, and in 1488 by *Claes Leeu*, I have given full particulars in my first volume, pp. 192-8, with the view of shewing that the engraved illustrations in both editions were impressed from the same wood-blocks, and that some of them had been also used for the small *Block-Book* described in the same volume from the work of Heineken. I have since found that the same blocks were again used for two other editions* of

* A copy of that printed by Eckert von Homborch occurred at the close of the sale, in 1856, of a portion of the Shakesperian Collection of Books formed by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. Of the one printed by Peter van Os da Breda, a copy was sold, in the same year, in the library of the late N. Hill, Esq., of the Royal Society of Literature. Bound up with it was a copy of the *Boec des Guldten Throes*, printed at Harlem in 1484. The volume is now in my possession.

the *Vita Christi*. The one was printed by Peter van Os of Breda, at Zwolle, in 1495, wherein the printer states, in the subjoined extract from the colophon, that he had used the same type and woodcuts as had been employed in the previous edition at Antwerp in 1487:

Ter zwoll

gheprent by mij Peter os van Breda mit
die selve litter ende figuren darr sij Ant-
werp first mede gheprent sijn gruerst wt.
Obergent Ent iær ons herren mcccc
xcv. den twintichsten dach in nouembri.
Deo gracias.

At Zwoll

printed by me Peter Os of Breda with
the same letter and figures as they at Ant-
werp first with them printed have been dec.
Finished in the year of our Lord mcccc
xcv. the twentieth day in november.
Deo gracias.

The other was printed at Antwerp, by *Eckert von Homborch*, in 1521, the type being of similar character, but not from the same matrices.

Here, then, is a proof that the *same wood-blocks* were used for what, according to the description given of it by Heineken, pp. 429-31, comes under the denomination of a Block-Book, having been afterwards employed successively by three different printers at Antwerp and one at Zwolle, from 1487 to 1521, an interval of *thirty-four years!* And yet the impressions in the edition of 1521, after having been used for four editions, do not manifest anything like the same appearance of decay as the wood-engravings in the *Consolatio Peccatorum* printed at Harlem in 1484.

DIE SPIEGEL ONSER BEHOUDINISSE. *Printed by Veldener at Culembourg, 1483,*

is the next work that comes under notice, in consequence of the same wood-blocks as were used for the four earlier editions of the *Speculum* being employed in the illustration of the text.

It was in the colophon* to the *Formula Epistolares*, issued by Veldener in 1476, at Louvain, that he advertised his abilities as a wood-engraver, type-founder, and as one well skilled in all matters connected with the art of printing. Accordingly, we should be justified in considering that the small and remarkably neat type used in his edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, of 1476, at Louvain, was cut or cast by him, as also that used in the books afterwards issued by him elsewhere, though they do not by any means exhibit any improvement in his art.

* An extract from the colophon is given, vol. i. p. 190.

I have, in my first volume, pp. 188-91, entered fully upon the typographical productions of Veldener, from the circumstance that fifty-six of the original wood-blocks which had been used for the four editions of the *Speculum*, were employed for the edition under consideration. With the exception of the twelve designs not used in the four editions, the engravings could scarcely be recognised as the same, in consequence of the deteriorated condition of the wood-blocks, independently of the coarse manner in which the impressions have been worked off, though possibly the press-work of all the existing copies may not be equally bad. The design given in plate XLIII. is a fac-simile of one of the additional designs, and in which it is seen that only a few breakages occur, the block not having been much used.

I have heard it suggested that Veldener may have been the engraver of the designs used in the *Speculum*. There is, I believe, very little known of his life, more than that, during an interval of seven years (1476 to 1483), he followed the occupation of a printer at Louvain, Utrecht, and Culembourg, besides having previously exercised the art at Cologne.

Though Veldener tells us that he practised the business of a wood-engraver, the *Historia Crucis* issued by him at Culembourg in the same year (1483) as his edition of the *Speculum*, is the only work from his press that is illustrated with wood-engravings. These are executed, as I have had occasion particularly to notice, vol. i. p. 191, in a very coarse style, totally different from the style of the wood-blocks used in the *Speculum*, and not at all tending to support the suggestion made; though, at the same time, the difference in style may be attributed more to the artist employed in the design than to the engraver, the latter strictly adhering to the lines drawn on the wood, however rude or grotesque they might be.

I am not aware of any work of a later date than 1483 having been printed by Veldener; consequently, as he was a man evidently active, though migratory, in his professional occupations, we may fairly conclude that he took to some other occupation, or that he died about that time.

Supposing, therefore, that Veldener was in early life a wood-engraver, and that he died about 1485, at the age of seventy-five, he would have been twenty-five years old in 1435, about the period when the wood-blocks for the *Speculum* may have been commenced.

The possession, by Veldener, of a certain number of engraved blocks, forming

evidently a portion of the same series as was designed for the *Speculum*, and yet not used for that work when first published, is a point that may be brought forward in support of his having been the engraver of them, on the presumption that, as they were not used, he had retained possession of them. Had Veldener employed those previously unused wood-blocks in any of his publications, there might have been some ground for believing him to have engraved them. His possession, however, of the whole series, cut up, and in a sadly mutilated state (except those previously named), induces me to think that he obtained them in the course of his trade, as is done at the present day, in consequence of the decease of their previous owner, or by the breaking up of the establishment in which the four editions of the *Speculum* had been printed.

Heineken, p. 458, in opposing the views of Meerman, who, in his zeal for the cause of Harlem, considered the designs in the *Speculum* to have been the work of Coster, expresses an opinion in favour of Veldener having been either the engraver, or the person who had got them executed, and observes, p. 489, "Il est connu par toutes les productions que nous avons de ce Veldener, qu'il étoit grand amateur d'images. S'il ne gravoit pas lui-même, il avoit certainement des graveurs à ses services."

The few wood-cuts used in the two editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, issued by Veldener in 1476 and 1480, bear no resemblance to those issued in the *Speculum*.

I. LUDOVICI PONTANI DE ROMA SINGULARIA IN CAUSIS CRIMINALIBUS.—
PII SECUNDI OPUSCULA.

II. GULIELMUS DE SALICETO DE SALUTE CORPORIS.—JOHANNES DE TURRECREMATA
DE SALUTE ANIMÆ.—LAUDATIONES HOMERICÆ, PII SECUNDI PREFATIONE.

The two volumes comprising the above works are particularly noticed, vol. i. pp. 181-7. The copy* of the *Saliceto*, &c. (mentioned p. 182), having again accident-

* In note, p. 182, in the first volume, I have particularly referred to the purchase of that copy. As it was bought at my request, it was arranged by the late Mr. Appleyard, then the Librarian of Earl Spencer, that, in the event of its agreeing with the copy at Althorp, I was to have it, my intention being to transfer it to the British Museum, our National Library not possessing a copy of either work. The arrangement not having been made known to Lord Spencer by the late Mr. Appleyard or myself, the book (being considered as a duplicate of that at Althorp) was publicly sold in January 1857, when it was purchased by M. Libri, who immediately placed the volume in my hands. It could not have fallen into the possession of one more capable of appreciating its peculiar typographical interest. Though the copy in the Spencer library is a remarkably fine one, yet,

ally come under my immediate inspection, I was induced to apply to Earl Spencer to allow his copies of the two volumes to be brought to London, in order that I might correct some slight inaccuracies occurring in the paginal references to the water-marks in plates O and P, from those volumes. Lord Spencer most kindly acceded to my request. Accordingly, I am enabled to avail myself of this favourable opportunity for making a few additional observations on the volumes under consideration.

The *Pontanus de Roma*, as stated at p. 181, presents a remarkable instance of press-work. In lieu, however, of altering the few inaccuracies* alluded to, that occur in the references of the water-marks in plate O, the subjoined table gives the collation of the fifty-nine leaves forming the volume; the collation not only shewing the printing of the work by single sheets and gatherings intermixed, but serving to rectify the references in plate O, the particular water-mark that occurs on each leaf being noted.

WATER-MARK.	LEAF.		LEAF.	WATER-MARK.	WATER-MARK.	LEAF.		LEAF.	WATER-MARK.
	1	Single sheet	2	Anchor	Unicorn	31	Single sheet	32	
Anchor	3	"	4			33	Gathering of Six leaves	34	Y
Anchor	5	"	6			34		37	Y
	7	"	8	Anchor	Anchor	35		36	
Anchor	9	"	10			39	Single sheet	40	
Anchor	11	"	12		Bull's Head	41	Gathering of	44	
	13	"	14	P	Anchor	42	Four leaves	43	
Y	15	Gathering of	18			45	Single sheet	46	Y
Arms	16	Four leaves	17		Fleur-de-lis	47		56	
	19	Single sheet	20	Y	Y	48	Gathering of Ten leaves	55	
	21	Gathering of	26	Bull's Head		49		54	Y
	22		25	Bull's Head†		60		53	Y
Anchor	23	Six leaves	24		Bull's Head	51		52	
Y	27	Single sheet	28			57	Single leaf		
Unicorn	29	"	30		P	58	"		
						59	"		

typographically, the new *Libri* copy is more valuable; because, independently of its having the blank leaf at the commencement, wanting in the *Spencer* copy, it bears the subjoined inscription, in a large monastic hand-writing, on the reverse of the last leaf. On the upper part, "VJ OROS MONETE FLANDRIE:" on the lower part, "LIBER MCI GUILIELMI DE SCHOUBEKE: CANONICI IN VERIS. ANNO 1484."

* Those inaccuracies have arisen in consequence of the pencil memoranda on the original tracings not having been very clear. When, about ten years ago, I had the marks in plates O and P lithographed, I had no opportunity of verifying the accuracy of the references.

† The Bull's Head is not among those in plate O. I did not find it among the original tracings. It is of small size, with double cross above.

By the preceding collation it is seen that the mark of the Anchor occurs chiefly in the first six sheets; and as the paper on which that mark is found is all of the same firm quality, it almost proves the use, when commencing the printing of the work, of some fresh stock of paper; the other paper employed being of a mixed quality, some sheets being much thinner than others. Sheet, folios 47 and 56, the first of the last gathering, is of a remarkably coarse texture and brown colour, unlike any other in the volume. The *Spencer* copy has a blank leaf at the commencement; but, though the paper of that leaf is of the same period, it does not form the corresponding half-sheet with either of the three single leaves at the end: those all differ in make, thus proving the half-sheets to have been printed separately.

Having given the collation of the *Pontanus de Roma*, &c., I subjoin that of the *Spencer* copy of the *Saliceto*, &c., several inaccuracies also occurring in plate P, in the paginal references to the marks taken from that copy. In that plate it is seen that the *Opuscula* of Pius Secundus, following the *Saliceto*, is placed before it, owing to the marks having been jointly collated with the *Hibbert* copy, which was separately bound, and formed a volume of ten leaves. The *Saliceto* and the *Opuscula* (*Laudationes Homericæ*) of Pius Secundus form, as here seen, a volume of twenty-four leaves, in two gatherings of twelve leaves each.

FIRST GATHERING.

SECOND GATHERING.

WATER-MARK.	LEAF.		LEAF.	WATER-MARK.	WATER-MARK.	LEAF.		LEAF.	WATER-MARK.
	1	} Gathering of Twelve leaves.	12	Anchor	Keys	13	} Gathering of Twelve leaves.	24	} Y Y Arms of France
	2		11	Keys	Keys	14		23	
	3		10	Anchor		15		22	
Keys	4		9			16		21	
Keys	5		8			17		20	
Keys	6		7		Y	18		19	

The *Spencer* copy wants the first leaf, a blank one forming the half-sheet of leaf 12, which is of a much coarser texture than any other in the volume; from which it is evident that a sheet of coarse paper was specially selected for the outside blank leaf; the same peculiarly coarse paper having been also employed for leaves 1 and 12 in the *Libri* copy, of which are also subjoined the collation and note of the water-marks.

there is a manuscript of the fifteenth century comprising the *Saliceto* and other treatises in the order as printed.

The two volumes under consideration are, comparatively speaking, little known in the annals of typography. They have been very superficially noticed by Bibliographers. Brunet* merely alludes to the *Pontanus de Roma*, considering it as an edition composed of forty-four leaves, and makes no mention whatever of the *Opuscula* in the volume. He does not describe the *Saliceto*; but under the works of Homer he enters (vol. ii. p. 619) the *Laudationes Homericæ* (as I have termed it), stating the latter to form a part of the *Saliceto*, quoting at the same time the sale of the *Hibbert* (subsequently the *Heber*) copy of that portion of the volume.

No other work has been discovered wherein the large type used in the *Pontanus de Roma* has been employed. That type is of a very peculiar character, and though a little larger it bears a strong resemblance to that used in the *Mazarine Bible*; while at the same time, as noticed vol. i. p. 183, it carries with it, in the characteristic formation of the letter *t*, evidence of its having been the production of Holland or the Low Countries.

The extraordinary resemblance, therefore, of the type to that used in the *Mazarine Bible*, leads me to conjecture that it was the *first essay* by the man John in the art of cutting or casting type, when in the employ of Lawrence Coster. Junius states that the assistant John, whose surname he suspected was "*Faustus*," afterwards settled at Mentz, where he may have been employed by Gutenberg.

Some work, or even the printing of a Bible in that type, may have been in contemplation in consequence of the successful sale of the *Donatuses*, the preparation of the type being entrusted to the assistant John. In the mean time Lawrence Coster dies, and John avails himself of the first opportunity of decamping with as much of the volume of M. Benouard, avec leur contenu si varié de médecine, de morale, de littérature, et de poésie, et parfaitement dans le même ordre que dans l'imprimé. Il se pourrait donc bien que le successeur de Coster, lié d'amitié avec l'un des Chevaliers de St. Jean à Harlem, eût vu ce manuscrit auprès de lui et se soit trouvé par son intervention en état d'imprimer, peu après la publication manuscrite, un ouvrage dont on pouvait attendre un grand débit, et d'en répandre ensuite les exemplaires comme des manuscrits; de sorte que l'ouvrage en question aurait pu être mis sous presse par le successeur de Coster à Harlem, quelques années avant l'époque avancée par M. Renouard comme elle de la publication. Cependant nous ne voulons pas insister là-dessus, nous voulons admettre que le livre a été imprimé en 1467."

Argument des Allemands en faveur de leur prétention à l'invention de l'imprimerie. Par A. de Vries; trad. du Hollandais par J. Noordziek. La Haye, 1840, 8vo., pp. 170-1.

* Manuel du Libraire. Paris, 1843, vol. iii. p. 810.

materials as were necessary for carrying on the then *secret art*, with which he had become acquainted while in the service of his late master. Thus the character of the type used in the *Mazarine Bible* may have derived its origin from the large type used in the *Pontanus de Roma*.

In respect to the smaller type employed in the two works, I have (vol. i. pp. 185-6) very clearly, I think, shewn its connexion (as previously stated by M. Renouard), with that used in the *Doctrinale* of twenty-nine lines; it is, therefore, unnecessary to add more upon that point. It is also quite clear that neither of the volumes could have appeared earlier than 1458, as each work contains contributions from the pen of Æneas Silvius, who did not ascend the Pontifical Chair until that time. The use, however, of that type, or type of precisely the same character, was not confined to the *Doctrinale*. It was employed for an edition of the *Catonis Disticha* and for four or more editions of the *Donatus*; editions which may fairly, in the absence of others not yet discovered, be considered as those mentioned by Ulric Zell as having been printed in Holland before the art was practised in Germany. While making this observation, it must not be forgotten that there were also editions of those Elementary Treatises in type the same as, or similar to, that used in the fourth (Second Dutch) edition of the *Speculum*; and though I have been very cautious in arguing as to the identity of the type in the fac-simile from a fragment of an edition of the *Doctrinale*, plate xxv., No. II., editions were also most probably printed in the same type as the first three editions of the *Speculum*.

There can be very little doubt but that the editions of the *Doctrinale*, *Donatus*, and the *Catonis Disticha*, executed in the same or similar type to that used in the *Pontanus de Roma* and *Saliceto*, were issued by the same party as the *Donatuses* in the same type as was used in the *Speculum*, or very similar to it.

Some remarkable event may have been the cause of the large and coarse type having remained unemployed; and the use of the other type may have been superseded by the employment of the types of the *Speculum* for the *Donatuses*. Consequently those types may have remained unused for many years, their re-employment having been caused by some particular occurrence, such as the death of the persons to whom they had belonged, the types then passing into other hands together with the other printing materials and remaining stock of paper.

There is a small quarto work in the library of Earl Spencer, intitled "*Agenda*

Ecclesie Moguntinensis." It was issued at Mentz, and bears the date 1480. It is fully described* in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. iii. pp. 146-7. The black type there used is precisely of the same character as that in the *Mazarine Bible*, and has the appearance of having *been much injured by use*, the whole volume, as Dr. Dibdin observes, presenting "*extreme unskilfulness of the press-work.*"

The type used in that little volume is believed to have been the same as had been previously employed for the *Mazarine Bible*, supposed to have been commenced as early as 1450. We there have, therefore, if such was the case, a remarkably corroborative evidence of the reappearance of types after an interval of many years.

I now refer to the paper used in the two works which form the subject of the present discussion. I have, in plates† O and P, given the various water-marks that occur in the *Spencer* copies of those works. It is there seen that the peculiarly formed Y is the most frequent mark in the *Saliceto*, while those in the *Pontanus de Roma* present a greater variety. It is also clearly seen, on reference to the several preceding plates of the marks from the editions of the *Speculum*, that those in the two works are of the same peculiar character. The greater portion of those marks are found in works printed in the Low Countries, and some in works issued at Cologne by Ulric Zell. Not so, however, the large Y of that particular form, though it is occasionally found in books from the press of Ketelaer and Leempt at Utrecht‡. It was not, like many other marks, in general use in Holland and the Low Countries.

A great portion of the sheets in the *Spencer*, *Hibbert*, and *Rendorp* copies of the *Third* (Second Latin) Edition of the *Speculum* bear that mark; while it is remarkable, that, in the paper used for the *Harlem* copy of the *Fourth* (Second Dutch) Edition, the marks are of a totally different character. Such, however, may not be the case in other copies of that edition.

If the types used in the *Pontanus de Roma* and the *Saliceto* had, from some extraordinary event, been put by, and not touched for a number of years, the same may have been the case with the paper on which those works are printed. We all

* It is also referred to in the *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. iii. pp. 348, note.

† Those plates were executed many years ago, and do not generally shew the fastenings of the marks to the sieve. This is owing to the difficulty in tracing the marks, the blackness of the printing rendering them unusually indistinct.

‡ At page 80 I inadvertently omitted to notice the use of the Y in the books from the press of Ketelaer and Leempt.

know how often it happens that parcels are tied up, and remain unopened for very many years, until some circumstance occurs when the contents are again brought into use.

Confirmatory of this observation, a more striking example could not be adduced than that of my having used, for some of the fac-similes in the present work, the remnant of the paper that was employed by my Father *thirty* years ago, that paper having been carefully stored by the lithographer who worked off the plates xxxiii. xxxvii. and xxxviii. bearing dates 1825 and 1826.

The preceding observations lead to the consideration, more particularly, of

THE FOUR EDITIONS OF THE SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

Holland claims the work, on the authority of its Historian, Hadrian Junius, as having been issued at Harlem, who considers it to have been the production of Lawrence Coster.

In the absence of any direct or contemporary evidence, we must have recourse to the statements of historians; and I can see no reason why the circumstances detailed by Junius should be more discredited than those related by any other historian. Dr. Cogan, an eminent man, brought up at Leyden, and resident for many years in the United Provinces, informs us, in the second volume of his *Tour on the Rhine*, published 1794, that "Hadrianus Junius was born in Hoorn, in North Holland, in 1512; was educated at Harlem, was Rector of the Latin School, and Teacher of Natural Philosophy in that city several years; and he died in Zeeland in 1575 (aged 63). He wrote the History of Holland in an elegant form, and was universally deemed a man of great integrity and impartiality."

Having had occasion, in the preceding pages, to notice the great similarity of execution in the engraved illustrations occurring in the works printed at Harlem in 1483 and 1484, my attention is necessarily drawn to the statement of Junius, wherein he particularly refers to the *Speculum*, considering it as having been printed in that city.

Though the relation of Junius* has been so often quoted by the various authors who have written upon the origin of printing, yet as many have only given portions of it, the insertion of a translation of the whole may not be deemed superfluous.

* Hadriani Junii Batavia. *Lugduni Batariorum*, 1568, pp. 253 et seq.

"I resume (writes Junius) the history of our own city (Harlem), to which, I assert, the chief honor of the invention of the art of printing is justly due; and which, I maintain, may be asserted with the greatest justice as of its own and native right. There is, however, an ancient opinion, which alone eclipses our splendour, and which is inscribed in the minds of some as if it had been burnt in hy fire; so deeply rooted that no mattock, no wedge, no pickaxe, is able to eradicate or destroy it. In conformity with this opinion, they pertinaciously believe, and are firmly persuaded, that the forms of letters with which books are printed, were first discovered at Mentz, a celebrated and ancient city of Germany. Oh, that I could obtain by a wish that incredible power of oratory which is supposed to have existed in Carnesdes, who is reported to have defended nothing that he did not prove, to have attacked nothing which he did not overturn; so that I, the advocate of truth, might be able to recall from exile to its native right, that fugitive praise, and to raise this trophy. Which, indeed, I would not desire on any other account but that truth, correctly designated by an ancient poet as the daughter of Time, or (as I am accustomed to call her) the test of Time, may at length be discovered; and that she, although hidden, according to Democritus, in the deepest well, may be brought to light.

"If the Phœnicians and Egyptians were not unwilling to engage in a glorious combat concerning the invention of letters: these arrogating to themselves their invention under the guidance of God, when they boast of their tables *Θεογραφηται* (written by God); and the others glorying in having introduced letters (to the invention of which they assert a claim) into Greece at the time when Cadmus, transported in a Phœnician vessel, first instructed the ignorant Greeks. If, again, the Athenians claim the same praise for their own king, Cecrops, and the Thebans for Linus; while Tacitus and Philostratus bestow the glory of the invention on Palamedes the Argive; and Hyginus attributes the invention of the Latin character to Carmenta, the mother of Evander: if, therefore, all nations have not blushed to seize for themselves, as the peculiar right of each, this glory, which is involved in so much doubt and controversy, what should binder us from reseeking the possession of that praise, which cannot be disputed, and to restore it to its ancient right, of which we have been deprived by the culpable negligence of our ancestors. I am indeed uninfluenced by any feeling of envy or malevolence, to assert any claim for one by calumniating or detracting from another. I shall not imitate the impudence of Crassus, hy, on the one hand, affecting the solemnity and gravity of Scævola; and on the other, by acquiring favor by servile adoration. I am not a man who, with corrupt intentions, resolves to play the impostor: my object is to exhibit, as far as is in my power, truth, and truth only, in that simple and unadorned style that she loves; and to place her in that clear light which, like the brightness of the sun, no mist, however thick, no darkness, however great, can obscure. If, on the authority of Plutarch, the evidence of that man is most trustworthy, who, bound by no favors received, or by any partiality of friendship, speaks boldly and freely what he thinks, my testimony is surely entitled to credit, since I claim no relationship with the dead, his heirs, or his posterity, and have no favor or benefit to expect from them. In what I have undertaken I have been influenced solely by an act of justice to the memory of the dead. I shall therefore mention what I have learned from old men respectable for their authority, and distinguished by their public services, who have asserted that they had their information from the best authority, viz. their own ancestors, whose testimony ought to have due weight in determining the truth.

"There dwelt at Harlem, about 128 years ago, in a public edifice of some magnificence (as the fabrie which still remains can attest), overlooking the market-place, opposite the Royal Palace,

a man named Laurentius Johannes, surnamed Custos or *Ædituus*, because his family, by hereditary right, possessed an honorable and lucrative office distinguished by that title. This man, to whom the world is indebted for an art more truly worthy of the laurel than that which binds the brow of the most illustrious victor, is by the clearest right, and by the most solemn assertions, entitled to the praise (a praise which has been most infamously assumed and most unjustly possessed by others) of being the inventor of printing.

"Walking in a wood near the city (as was the custom with opulent citizens on festivals or after dinner), he began to cut some letters on the bark of a beech tree, which he, for the sake of amusement, pressed on paper, in an inverted order, as a specimen for his grandchildren (the children of his daughter) to imitate. Having succeeded in this, and being a man of talent and ingenuity, he began to meditate greater things, and being assisted by his son-in-law, Peter Thomas (who had four sons, who almost all attained consular dignity, and whom I mention to shew that the art owed its origin, not to a low family, but, on the contrary, to one of distinguished rank and consideration), he invented a more glutinous and tenacious kind of ink, perceiving that the common ink spread and produced blots. He then formed wooden tablets, or pages with letters cut upon them. Of this kind, I have myself seen an anonymous work, written in the vernacular tongue, intitled '*Speculum nostræ Salutis*,' the first rude essay, printed not on both sides, but on opposite pages only, the reverse sides being pasted together to conceal their naked deformity. These types of beech he afterwards changed for lead, and after that for pewter, as being a more hard and durable substance; from the remains of which those old wine-pots were cast that are still visible in the mansion of which I have spoken, looking towards the market-place, and which was afterwards inhabited by his grandson, Gerard Thomas, who died a few years since at a very advanced age, and whom I here mention with respect as a most honorable gentleman. The curiosity of men is naturally attracted by a new invention; and when a commodity never before seen became an object of gainful profit, the love of the art became more general, and work and workmen (the first cause of misfortune) were multiplied. Amongst those so employed was one John Faustus. Whether he was, as I suspect, ominously so called, faithless and unlucky to his master, or whether that really was his name, I shall not here inquire, being unwilling to disturb the silent shades of those who suffer from a consciousness of the sins they have committed in this life. This person, bound by oath to keep the invention a secret, as soon as he supposed he knew the mode of joining the letters together, the method of casting the types, and other matters belonging to the art, having seized the opportunity of Christmas Eve, whilst all were employed in the customary festival sacrifices, puts together all his master's tools connected with the art, seizes all the types, elopes from his house, accompanied by one other thief as an accomplice, proceeds first to Amsterdam, then to Cologne, and at length settles at Montz. Here he considered himself safe from the reach of his pursuers, as in an asylum where he might carry on a gainful trade with the fruits of his iniquity. Clear it certainly is, that, in about a year after this, about A.D. 1442, the *Doctrinale of Alexander Gallus*, a grammar in much repute at that time, and the *Tracts of Peter of Spain*, were brought out here with those very types which Laurentius made use of at Harlem.

"This is the account I have heard from venerable men, worthy of credit, to whom the story had been delivered, like a burning torch transferred from hand to hand; and I have myself met many other persons who corroborate and confirm their statements by the similarity of their testimony. I remember that the instructor of my youth, Nicolaus Galius, a man distinguished by an accurate and retentive memory, and venerable for his years and character, has mentioned to me

that he more than once, when a boy, heard one Cornelius, a bookbinder who had been employed in the office, and lived to the age of 80, relate with great emotion the whole of the transaction, describe the history and progress of the art, and all the circumstances connected with it, as he had received the account from his master. Whenever the conversation turned upon this subject, he would burst into tears and betray the most violent emotion, both on account of the robbery committed on his master, and of the glory of which he was so unjustly deprived. He used to call down the most frightful imprecations on the head of the thief, and execrate the memory of those nights which he passed with him as his bed-fellow. This account agrees pretty nearly with that of Quirinus Talesius, the Burgomaster, who had it almost immediately from the mouth of Cornelius himself. The love of Truth, so generally the parent of envy and hatred, has induced me to enter into this detail, in the defence of which, so far am I from any desire to forfeit my recognizance, that, on the contrary, I feel more determined in proportion to the odium attached to it; for all who will candidly examine the matter with that exactness as if it were placed in the balance of Critolaus, will lay aside their prejudice; but Truth is the image of God, than which nothing should be deemed more sacred. Nor do I consider the person who would not undertake its defence as worthy of the name of man. In defending it our city will recover the honor to which it is justly entitled, and the arrogance of those who are not ashamed to lay claim to, and possess, the right which belongs to another, will cease. This truth, I fear, may perhaps be disregarded; but though prejudice may, amongst light and careless men, prevail above the argument which is founded upon authentic information, I shall ever derive consolation and delight from the recollection of having manfully defended the claims of this city and of the true inventor."

Junius appears to have taken up the cause of Harlem with considerable zeal. His language is not merely that of the ordinary historian of his native country. He evidently felt, that to Harlem, wherein he had passed his boyhood, was due the honour of having invented the art of Printing, and not to Mentz, as was asserted even in his time. Accordingly, in his desire to set the matter at rest, he appears to have hunted up all the information he could obtain, believing the facts he adduced as conclusive evidence. It is, however, very manifest that Junius had little opportunity of examining many of the earliest productions of the invention. He only mentions one of the *Dutch Editions* of the *Speculum*, and in doing so appears to have considered it as the first production of Lawrence Coster after he had succeeded in obtaining some impressions from letters cut by him upon the bark of a beech tree. He states that Lawrence Coster "*then formed wooden tablets or pages with letters cut upon them. Of this kind I have myself seen an anonymous work, written in the vernacular tongue, intitled 'Speculum nostræ Salutis,' the first rude essay, printed not on both sides, but on opposite pages only, the reverse sides being pasted together to conceal their naked deformity.*" It is here clear that Junius looked upon the copy of the *Speculum* seen by him as being entirely composed of *block type*. He makes no

mention whatever of any other edition, or of the various editions of the *Donatuses*; nor does he state that he had seen a copy of the *Doctrinale*, which he so distinctly affirms to have been printed at Mentz in or about 1442.

In his notice of the *Doctrinale*, Junius has so connected with it a grammatical treatise by Peter of Spain, as to induce most persons who have had occasion to read the passage to suppose that an edition of that work was also printed and issued at Mentz in the same type as the *Doctrinale*. Though the question may not in any way affect the truth of the relation in respect to the *Doctrinale*, yet, as no such edition has been discovered, I have been induced to examine minutely the meaning of the original passage given by Junius, and in doing so, have been struck with the different manner in which it has been interpreted. Subjoined is the original passage, and the several translations that have come under my notice, in which it is perceived that the several authors quoted, differ in the date as to the precise year of the appearance of the *Doctrinale*.

"NIMIRUM EX EA, INTRA VERENTIS ANNI SPACIUM, AD ANNUM A NATU CHRISTI 1442, IIS IPSIS TYPIS, QUIBUS HARLEMI LAURENTIUS FUERAT USUS, PROHIBERE IN LUCEM CERTUM EST ALEXANDRI GALLI DOCTRINALE, QUÆ GRAMMATICA CELEBERRIMO TUNC IN USU ERAT, CUM PETRI HISPANI TRACTATIBUS, PRIMA FORTURA."

"It is certain, that, in the space of a year, viz. in the year of our Lord, 1442, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus, a grammar much used at that time, with the Tract of Peter of Spain, came forth there from the same types which Laurence had used at Harlem."

Singer on the Origin of Playing Cards and Printing, p. 113.

"Within the space of a year from Christmas 1442, it is certain that there appeared, printed with the types which Laurence had used at Harlem, *Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*, a grammar then in frequent use, with *Petri Hispani Tractatus*."

Jackson on Wood-Engraving, p. 184.

"That he escaped with his booty to Amsterdam, thence to Cologne, and lastly, that he took up his residence at Mentz, where he established his printing press; from which, within the following year, 1442, were issued two works, printed with the characters which had been before used by Lawrence Coster at Harlem, the one entitled *Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*; the other, *Petri Hispani Tractatus*."

History of Engraving, by W. F. Otley, vol. i. p. 174.

"It is a known fact, that within the twelve months, that is, in the year 1440, he published *Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*, a grammar at that time in high repute, with *Petri Hispani Tractatus Logicæ*, with the same letters which Laurens had used. These were the first productions of his press."

Typographia, by J. Johnson, vol. i. p. 8.

"At least is certain, that one year after this occurrence, in the year 1442, there issued from the press a first production, printed with the same letters as those used by Lorenz at Harlem. It was the Grammar of Alexander Gallus, a very esteemed work, which was in use at that period, as likewise the treatise of Peter Hispanus."

From the notice of the Centenary Fête given at Brussels.

Now the literal school translation of the passage is:

"Undoubtedly from it, within the space of a year turning towards the year from the birth of Christ 1442, with those same types which at Harlem Lawrence had used, it is certain that the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus came forth into light, which Grammar was then in most frequent use, with the Tracts of Peter of Spain, the first production."

Had Junius intended to convey to his readers that two distinct works had been printed, he would have written, as more correct, "*primæ facturæ*." He uses the words in the singular, to signify a *first production*. It may, however, be argued that the Tracts of Peter of Spain may have been printed at the end of the *Doctrinale*, still forming one publication. No edition of the joint works is known, though the editions of each separately are very numerous. The first known edition, with a date, of the Treatises of Peter of Spain, was issued by John de Vollehoe, at Zwolle, the title being "*Petri Hispani Tractatus et Summula Logicales cum Commento Zwollis per Johannem de Vollehoe, 1479.*"

The account given by Junius cannot be considered as altogether satisfactory in the more minute particulars respecting the productions consequent on the discovery of the art of printing, as stated by him. If it could be shewn that the first editions of the *Apocalypse*, of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and of the *Ars Moriendi*, were issued by, or under the direction, or at the cost of, Lawrence Coster, then it might be suggested, that, in the discovery he had made by the cutting of letters on the bark of a tree, he applied it, in the first instance, to the textual illustration of those designs; and that subsequently, on discovering the more available use of his invention by the separation of the letters, his extended application of them was first adopted in the printing of the *Donatuses*, and afterwards in the *Speculum*; for the actual discovery of printing by moveable type may have been made in consequence of the wood-engraver having occasion to make some alteration in the text intermixed with the designs, as in the Block-Books, which could only be effected by cutting out the letters and substituting others in their places*.

If neither Lawrence Coster nor any of his family were in any way connected with

* That the wood-engravers made alterations in the blocks is seen on referring to vol. i. p. 180, where we have noticed the circumstance,—the substitution of the name "*Joannes Bergis*" in lieu of "*Jacobus de Breda*," in a woodcut which had been previously used with the latter name.

the issue of some of the earliest Block-Books, then the preceding remarks are not applicable to any of those works as being the first results of the amusement of Coster in cutting letters on the bark of a tree, as the Block-Books had previously fully exemplified that art. Those books, however, may have been unknown to Lawrence Coster; and as a private individual, and not an artist, he may have been obliged to have recourse to the wood-engraver for carrying out *his invention of cutting letters separately*. Thence his using a series of designs in the *Speculum* (designs apparently executed by the same hand as those of the *Biblia Pauperum* and other of the Block-Books) is accounted for, and thus the connexion of the *Speculum* with those works!

Notwithstanding the details in the statement made by Junius are open to controversy, the relation, taken as a whole, bears unmistakable evidence of truth. If the *hearsay* testimony related to the author of the Cologne Chronicle, in 1499, respecting the PERFECTING of the Art of Printing, is to be believed on the one side, why should not the relation of Junius regarding its ORIGIN in the city of Harlem, be equally so on the other? The one was received from the very old man, Ulric Zell, a printer; and the other, from many respectable persons then resident at Harlem, to whom, at that time, the particulars related were within a period of comparatively easy recollection.

That portion of the testimony on the authority of his old tutor, Nicolas Galius, and of the Burgomaster Quirinus Talesius, has been vigorously disputed by Mr. Chatto, on the ground that Galius and Talesius were, at the period referred to, of such a youthful age as to render their evidence altogether improbable.

Mr. Chatto has, in his History of Engraving, entered fully into the arena of the Mentz and Harlem Controversies, with the view of altogether upsetting the claims of Harlem. He is one of those authors who look upon the account given by Junius as altogether fabulous; and accordingly he concludes his observations upon that account by stating*, that—

“Lehne, in his ‘Chronology of the Harlem Fiction’ (*Einige Bemerkungen über das Unternehmen der gelehrten Gesellschaft zu Harlem*, &c., s. 31), thus remarks on the authorities, Galius and Talesius, referred to by Junius as evidences of its truth. As Cornelius was upwards of eighty when he related the story to Nicolas Galius, who was then a boy, this must have happened about 1510. The boy Galius we will suppose to have been, at that time, about fifteen years old. Junius

* History of Engraving, by W. A. Chatto, pp. 189-90.

was born in 1511, and we will suppose that he was under the care of Nicolas Galius, the instructor of his youth, until he was fifteen: that is, until 1526. In this year Galius, the man venerable from his grey hairs, would be only thirty-six years old, an age at which grey hairs are premature. Grey hairs are only venerable in old age; and it is not usual to praise a young man's faculty of recollection in the style in which Junius lauds the 'iron memory' of his teacher. Talesius, as Koning states, was born in 1505, and consequently six years older than Junius; and on the death of Cornelius, in 1522, he would be seventeen, and Junius eleven years old. Junius might, in his eleventh year, have heard the whole account from Cornelius himself, in the same manner as the latter, when only ten, must have heard it from Coster; and it is remarkable that Galius, who was so well acquainted with Cornelius, did not afford his pupil the opportunity. We thus perceive that, in the whole of this affair, children and old men play the principal parts; and both ages are proverbially addicted to narratives which savour of the marvellous."

With all due deference to the opinion of so clever a man as Mr. Chatto, I do not think his data respecting Galius and Talesius upset the facts related by Junius. We all know how strongly any eventful circumstances are impressed upon the memory of youth, and how those events are afterwards related as if of recent occurrence. Consequently I do not think, that, even if there was any slight discrepancy in the relation of such circumstances as those given by Junius, that would be a sufficient ground for discrediting its general correctness.

Mr. Ottley*, in his review of the statements of Junius, admirably illustrates the relation of Junius by a fact which occurred in his own family respecting an embroidered cushion, the history of which was handed down from generation to generation for above one hundred and forty years.

In like manner, I have in my possession a very small teapot and some equally small cups and saucers, forwarded from China above one hundred years ago, to Mr. Samuel Baker (the founder, in 1744, of our house of business), at a period when tea was a most expensive luxury. As such objects are made in China at the present time, of so similar a character (none but the experienced connoisseur being able to decide their difference in respect to age), such testimony would little avail at a future period, though their daily use is now remembered by some members of the family nearly ninety years old. Innumerable are the examples that might be brought to bear upon the validity of oral testimony in respect to such matters.

As a citizen of Harlem, Junius left behind him a record of all that he learned respecting that city, believing and feeling that all he wrote was honest and true. After all, the particulars detailed by him respecting the origin of printing were not

* *History of Engraving*, by W. Y. Ottley, vol. i. pp. 184-6.

of a very distant period at the time when, in 1568, he commenced his labours. The works of the Dutch Historians are usually looked upon as authority. Why, therefore, the statement of Junius, who happened to be one* of the first who has recorded in print particulars respecting the discovery of an art, of which, from having become of universal use, its origin had ceased to be a matter of curiosity, should be discredited and the author looked upon altogether as a "fabulist," I am at a loss to imagine. Such an opinion could only be justified had the other portions of his History been proved to have been unworthy of credit.

THE FOURTH (SECOND DUTCH) EDITION OF THE SPECULUM.

It is printed in rather a smaller type than was used for the other three editions. Like those, it is divided into five gatherings†: the Introduction, of four leaves, forming the first; and the fifty-eight leaves being divided into three gatherings of fourteen, and one of sixteen leaves.

It is remarkable that the only four copies of the edition known are more or less defective. The *first*, the *Pembroke* copy, wants leaf XLII. It may be curious here to notice that M. Koning‡ relates that a M. van Westphalen, a distinguished antiquarian of the sixteenth century, possessed an impression of that leaf. The *second*, in the library of the Hôtel de Ville§, at Harlem, wants two sheets, leaves 16 and 17, 18 and 19, but are supplied with those from the other Dutch edition. The *third*, in the Public Library at Harlem, wants only the first leaf of the Introduction. The *fourth*, in the Municipal Library at Lisle, is remarkable as having two leaves in which the text is printed on *both sides*. Those leaves, 29 and 42, form the first and the last leaves in the fourth gathering. Not having had the opportunity of inspecting the copy at Lisle, I avail myself of the opportunity of here inserting a portion of the remarks made by

* Jan van Zuyren, a printer at Harlem about 1560 or 1561, in the dedicatory preface (printed by Scriverius) to a lost dissertation upon Printing, asserts the claims of Harlem to the invention. Theod. Volckart Coornhert, the partner of van Zuyren, does the same in the dedication, to the Magistracy of Harlem, of an edition of Cicero's Offices printed by him in 1561. So does also Ludovico Guicciardini in his History of the Low Countries printed at Antwerp in 1567.

† I forgot to notice, at vol. i. p. 153, the arrangement of the leaves of the Fourth Edition.

‡ "F. VAN WESTPHALEN célèbre antiquaire du commencement du 17^{me} siècle à Enkhuisen étoit autrefois possesseur d'une feuille séparée; c'étoit la 42^{me}... au haut étoit écrit de la main de WESTPHALEN, 'Dit is een de eerste drucken die in Holland gedrukt syn, en voer van Laurens Coster te Harlem.' Cette feuille existoit encore en 1761." *Dissertation sur l'origine de l'imprimerie, par Jacques Koning. Amsterdam, 1819, p. 69.*

§ De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe, par. Aug. Bernard. Paris, MDCCCLIII. pp. 20-22.

M. Bernard respecting it: "Ce dernier (l'Exemplaire de Lille) réclame une mention particulière, à cause des deux feuillets opisthographiques, c'est-à-dire imprimés des deux côtés, qu'il renferme. Il est vrai que cette circonstance est plutôt un défaut qu'une qualité; car non-seulement les pages ainsi *retirées* ne correspondent pas avec les autres pages de la feuille, et ne sont pas accompagnées des gravures, mais encore elles ressemblent plutôt à une maculature qu'à une impression réelle".... "Par une singularité dont il est difficile de se rendre compte, cette feuille manquante, qui est la première du quatrième cahier, a été remplacée par la septième (celle du milieu) du troisième, renfermant les pages 21 et 22, sur le revers desquelles on a imprimé en *retiration* le texte de la première feuille du cinquième cahier, renfermant les pages 45-58. Ces deux dernières pages sont double emploi, car elles sont encore à leur place dans le cinquième cahier. La troisième (*quatrième?*) feuille du deuxième, cahier contenant pages 4-11, se compose de deux parties distinctes, le texte et les gravures, qui sont sur deux bandes de papier ajustées ensemble. La cinquième feuille du troisième cahier présente la même circonstance." M. Bernard adds, in a note, that the copy at the Hôtel de Ville at Harlem, and also (a Latin edition) in the Library of the Pitti Palace at Florence, possesses the same similarities in respect to the separation of some of the designs and text as are observable in the copy at Lille. That fact would only shew that the impressions of the designs on those leaves had been injured, and that they were replaced with others from spare leaves.

Respecting, however, the two leaves having the text on both sides, the circumstance may have arisen from the printer finding he had worked off more copies of the one sheet than were wanted, and consequently, as one side of the paper was *blank*, he used the spare sheet again.

Owing to the text in all the copies presenting the same blurred appearance, it has been erroneously concluded that the type used was in a worn-out state. A minute examination of the type, however, shews that its imperfect appearance arises more from the very careless manner in which the pressman has executed his duty of working off the pages, than from any deteriorated condition of the type. The fac-similes in plate xxiv., taken from the *Pembroke* copy, present about the worst specimens I could find, many of the pages being much clearer, though all exhibit, more or less, a want of care in setting up the type, the closing line of one of them being turned upside down, as noticed in vol. i. p. 154.

The very imperfect manner in which this Fourth Edition was issued, is almost sufficient evidence to prove the statement of Junius respecting the robbery that had almost annihilated the establishment wherein, it is presumed, the three editions preceding it were printed. Some later misfortune, however, may have happened, causing the printing materials to have passed into the hands of an inexperienced person, by whom the edition may have been printed.

The broken state of the wood-blocks of the designs, as clearly shewn in the impressions of the Fourth Edition, proves the priority of the other editions; and the subsequent use of the wood-blocks in a still more deteriorated state, and cut into separate designs, by Veldener, at Culembourg, in 1483, justifies my considering that some few years elapsed since they had been previously used. Consequently the issue of the Fourth Edition may not have been before 1460 or 1470.

Independently, however, of any argument that might be founded on the injured state of the wood-blocks, to shew that some years may probably have intervened between the issue of the Third and Fourth Editions, the paper used in the latter is of another quality, and the water-marks (with the exception of the Unicorns, Nos. 15 and 16, pl. M.) are also altogether different. This observation, of course, can only extend to the marks on the paper of the two copies examined by me. Other copies may have been printed on paper bearing similar marks to those found in the preceding editions. *That fact* ascertained would, however, only shew that the paper was obtained from the *same source*, unless the marks agreed in all the minute particulars necessary to prove that the paper was from the *same vat*; and even then, as in the case of the Oxford Book of "1468," that might be accounted for by supposing that those sheets may have formed a remnant of the paper used for the previous editions.

The preceding observation leads me to notice, that, owing to the marks so seldom agreeing in all particulars, I am induced to think that they must have been formed of some *very fragile* material; the more so, as they exhibit, by the dots, very frequent refastening to the sieves, which may be the cause of *the same* marks differing in their position between the upright wires.

THE THIRD (SECOND LATIN) EDITION OF THE SPECULUM.

In consequence of this edition (printed in the same type as the First and Second) having twenty pages of its text impressed from wood-blocks, it has been considered to have preceded the other three, and that the invention of printing by moveable type was discovered during its progress. Had those twenty pages of wood text run consecutively from the first to the twentieth page, there would, in the absence of other circumstances, have been some grounds for entertaining such an opinion. It so happens, however, that though those pages comprised, with the exception of pages 3 and 12, the whole of the first gathering, they form a portion of the second and one sheet in the fourth gathering. Consequently, if the pages were printed consecutively, it is not likely that the printer would have recourse to block-type for the two pages in the fourth gathering after having used moveable type for the pages in other gatherings. In answer to this, it may, however, be argued, that, as he printed, which he evidently did, the pages with moveable type out of their consecutive order, afterwards forming the sheets into gatherings, he might have done the same with those in block-type. The perfect state, however, of the impressions of the designs in the First Edition, when compared with those in the Second and Third Editions, proves the priority of that edition; besides which, the block pages of text were cut in imitation of those in the First Edition, impressions of those pages of text having, no doubt, been affixed to the wood-block by the wood-engraver as his copies.

Some extraordinary event, therefore, must have caused the necessity of this intermixture of the block-pages of text with those from moveable type. In the absence of other testimony, the block-pages of the text in the Third Edition, though not seen by Junius, become, as it were, circumstantial evidence of the statement made by that Historian, and may, we think, be considered as almost corroborative of the account of the robbery related by him. It is, indeed, *the only typographical fact* in connexion with the editions of the *Speculum* that can be brought to bear upon the point at issue.

To connect, therefore, the block-pages used in the *Speculum* with the robbery, the pages with the text in moveable type must have been previously printed.

I am not aware upon what authority it is clearly proved that Lawrence Coster died in 1440. By the testimony of Cornelius, the bookbinder, as related to Nicolas Galius, it would almost appear as if the robbery had taken place previous to the death of Coster. Had, however, such been the case, there would not have been the same necessity for using block-pages of text to complete the unfinished copies. His heirs very probably knew little of the practical part of the art, the exercise of which having been kept so great a secret, that most likely it was only known to the two assistants of Lawrence Coster, the parties by whom his successors were deprived of the means of continuing the works then in progress.

Whether the edition was completed soon after the robbery, by the substitution of block-text for the twenty pages, in lieu of moveable type previously employed, or remained some years unfinished, is a matter of conjecture; but it can be positively affirmed that some of the paper, that is, paper bearing water-marks agreeing in all these minute particulars (satisfactorily shewing the paper to have been made in the same vat) used for completing the work by block-type, was the same as had been employed for the pages previously worked off in moveable type. This fact is at once seen, in plates I and K, by the references to the pages on which the marks in the copies there mentioned occur.

This the Third Edition is printed in rather a larger type than was used for the Fourth. This the reader will see by referring to the fac-similes in pl. xxxii. Nos. iii. and iv., taken from the introductory pages of the work. A comparison with fac-similes i. and ii. of the same passages, in the introduction to the First Edition, will shew that the type, unless renewed, had not suffered very much by its employment in the two previous editions.

Since writing these observations, I have compared the *Ingles* copy of the *first* edition with the *Grenville* copy of the *third* edition in the British Museum, and am astonished to find how little difference there is in the appearance of the type. I was led to this examination in consequence of the fac-simile*, pl. xxxvii. of the final cut and text from the Third Edition presenting the type so much more worn than in the corresponding column in the same plate from the First Edition.

* It is seen by the inscription on the left hand lower part of the plate, that the fac-simile was made in 1826. I do not know from what copy; but I think the more worn appearance of the type and cuts has arisen

Connecting, therefore, the printing of the Third Edition with the robbery of the type, as related by Junius, it is certain that it could not have been issued after 1442.

THE SECOND (FIRST DUTCH) EDITION OF THE SPECULUM.

It is printed with the same type as the third. Our fac-simile, plate xxxi., of the whole of the first page of the Introduction, gives a remarkable specimen of the compactness and good condition of the type.

In all the copies known, one sheet (pages 45 and 56) is printed in the smaller type, the same as that used for the Fourth Edition. I can only account for this singular fact by supposing that the same extraordinary circumstance which caused the printer to complete his unfinished Third Edition with pages of block-type, also existed in this case. The use of the smaller type for the two pages shews that the printer had been deprived of his larger type; and why, therefore, it should not have been used for the completion of the *Third* Edition is remarkable. A fac-simile of one of the columns of the text of page 45 is given in plate xxv.

I can only suppose that, at the time of the robbery, the printer had no immediate means of replacing the loss sustained, and that it was considered more economical to have the pages wanted to complete his Third Edition cut in wood, than to have a new fount of type cut or cast. Then it may be asked, why did he not also, in the same way, complete the two pages in the Second Edition with block-type? To which I reply, that, in the one case, the printer had only to give the wood-cutter an impression of each page of text from the First Edition as his copy; but in the other he had none to give, it being the First Dutch Edition. I am therefore induced to think that the Second Edition was not issued until the printer was possessed of the new type, which was afterwards used in the Fourth Edition.

Though the printing of pages 45 and 56 may have been delayed, the breakages in the impressions of the designs prove the edition to have been executed before the Second Latin Edition, so that it may have been printed as early as 1441.

from the original not being in as good a state of preservation as the *Grenville* copy, and that my Father was glad to avail himself of the first opportunity he had of procuring the fac-similes.

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE SPECULUM.

It is printed in the same type as was subsequently employed for the Second and Third Editions. The *Inglis* copy is in a marvellously fine state of preservation. The leaves have not been (as is so generally found to have been the case with copies of the Block-Books) joined together by means of paste laid all over the reverses of the designs and texts, the paste having been applied only to the edges. This circumstance has allowed the leaves to be separated; the gloss at the back of the designs, and the indentations at the back of the text, shewing that impressions of the designs were taken off by friction, and that the text was produced by the ordinary printing press.

In all the earliest editions of the Block-Books the impressions have been obtained by friction; consequently, by such an operation the impressions could not have been taken off on both sides of the paper without injury to the one side when rubbing off the other. The strong gloss at the back of the impression of the designs in the *Speculum*, shews that they were taken off *subsequently** to the printing of the text; otherwise, by the wetting of the paper preparatory to printing the text, the gloss on the reverses would have been removed, unless the printer used his paper in a dry state.

When making the observation (vol. i. p. 176) respecting the probability of the designs of the *Speculum* having been executed by the same hand as that employed upon those of the first editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Cantica Canticorum* (including also that of the *Ars Moriendi*), I was not aware that the late Mr. Ottley entertained the same views.

Mr. Ottley, in his *History of Engraving*, vol. i. p. 155, states: "I have observed, in a former page (note, p. 142), that there is reason to believe that the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Book of Canticles*, and the cuts of the *Speculum Salvationis*, were engraved, in part, by the same engraver, although from the designs of different artists. The remark, however, must be understood with some limitations. There is little doubt that the principal wood-engravers of those times had pupils who assisted them in executing the extensive works confided to their care. That part of a cut which required little skill, or that entire design which least captivated the taste of the master, was often entrusted to the scholar; and hence those occasional dissimilarities of execution which a careful observer will discover in different cuts of the same block (especially in accessorial parts), although

* The impression of the two pages of the text (in the sheet with text printed on both sides) being without the woodcut, is a clear proof that the designs were not taken off until after the text was printed.

they bear evidence of having proceeded from the workshop of the one master artist. Several of the cuts in the *Speculum* bear so striking a resemblance to some of those in the *Biblia Pauperum* as to leave little or no doubt but that they were engraved by the same hand; others, in their mode of execution, exactly correspond with some of those in the Book of Canticles. Upon the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that the same engraver who had been employed to execute the blocks of the *Biblia Pauperum*, was also, but at a later period, entrusted with those of the Book of Canticles; and lastly, or about the same time, with those of the *Speculum*: which work, it is probable, he did not live to complete, since the latter cuts of the *Speculum*, as I shall have occasion to notice, were evidently engraved by a different artist from the one employed in the former part of that work, and I think from the compositions of a different designer."

In a work intitled "AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF PRINTING," unfortunately left by Mr. Ottley, on his death in 1836, in an unfinished state, he has entered into a most elaborate and most interesting discussion to prove that the designs used in the *Speculum* were made as early as 1435. For this purpose he has accompanied his observations with numerous engravings of the Costume of that period, taken from illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum and other collections.

That unfinished work closes, as I have stated in my "Preliminary Observations" to the present volume, at p. 368. In that page are described, in part, the illustrations engraved in "Plate 26." There the work abruptly terminates. I very much fear that all the copper-plates engraved for the work, and some elaborately executed fac-similes from very early wood-engravings, have been destroyed, or have been otherwise so neglected, that, in the event of their falling into the hands of Mr. Lilly, the bookseller, who is in possession of the printed portion of the work, they would be of little value.

I had hoped, ere Mr. Ottley died, that he would have dictated to his son, the late Mr. William Campbell Ottley, his views* upon the subject, sufficiently clear to have enabled him to have completed his labours. Indeed, I personally urged Mr. Ottley, when confined to his bed, to do so; but he put it off from day to day, and he died without leaving the desired information.

On looking over the observations of Mr. Ottley on the Costume in the Designs

* Mr. Ottley was not in the habit of committing his thoughts to paper previous to writing the manuscript sent to the printers. Like many other most learned authors, he printed as he wrote. In a notice of the decease and of the literary labours of the late John Mitchell Kemble (the son of the eminent tragedian Charles Kemble), in the *Athenæum Literary Journal* for March 28, 1857, it is stated, while lamenting that a work, then intended, in two volumes, on *The Seasons in England*, remained unfinished, that Mr. Kemble observed to a friend, a short time previous to his decease, "They are nearly completed in my head. I do not put pen to paper until I know what I am going to write."

in the *Speculum*, a point which I have not ventured to discuss, I find that pp. 314-319, in his unfinished work, are occupied by a letter from the late Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, minutely detailing his opinions respecting those designs. The letter is dated 1828, and has the following concise passage at its conclusion:

"On a careful review and consideration of the whole, I am inclined to think the wood-blocks of the Speculum cannot be of later date than 1435, and that they may be a little earlier."

In concluding my remarks upon the Four Editions of the *Speculum*, it becomes a question whether the First Edition was not issued during the life of Lawrence Coster, to whom, in the absence of any other claimant, it may, on the relation of Junius, be reasonably attributed. If so, it could not be placed at a date later than 1439.

THE HORARIUM, THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE DONATUS, THE DOCTRINALE,
AND THE CATONIS DISTICHA,

are all printed with MOVEABLE TYPE of the same peculiar character, indisputably DUTCH. The numerous fragments of these Elementary Works, or Common School Books, that have been of late discovered, cannot do otherwise than corroborate the assertion of the aged printer, Ulric Zell, that

"Donatuses were printed in Holland before the invention was perfected in Germany."

Consequently, as the city of Mentz lays claim to having *perfected* the invention as early as 1440, it may be fairly assumed that the words of Ulric Zell, when informing the author of the Cologne Chronicle what he knew respecting the origin of Printing, that the "*first idea originated, however, in Holland, from the Donatuses, which were printed even before that time,*" meant, not a year or two years before, but probably ten. I shall not, however, presume too much on that indisputable testimony, claiming only a precedence for some of the *Donatuses* of seven years, which would bring the issue of the earliest of those editions to the year 1433.

It was not until long after the working off this sheet, that I was aware of the existence of a fragment of an edition of the *Donatus* in the same very primitive type as the "*Horarium*" or "*Abecedarium*." That fragment is preserved in the Royal Library at the Hague and has been most admirably, and I do not hesitate to affirm, most accurately fac-similed in the first number of the important typographical work* by M. Holtrop now in the course of publication. The fragment consists of two pages, a full one with *thirty-one* lines, the other having only *twenty-five*. As no explanatory letter-press accompanies the fac-simile, I can merely, in this subsequently printed paragraph, refer to the existence of the relic as an additional document in support of the statement made in the Cologne Chronicle.

* *Monumens Typographiques des Pays-Bas, au Quinzième Siècle. Collection de Fac-simile d'après les originaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de la Haye et ailleurs. Publiés par M. J. W. Holtrop, Bibliothécaire en chef de la Bibliothèque Royale. Etablissement lithographique M. de E. Spaanier, Lithographe de S. M. le Roi. La Haye, Martius Nijhoff, Libraire ancienne et moderne, 1857, Imperial Quarto.*

If the costume of the figure represented as Daniel, in the last design of the *Speculum*, can be shewn to be of a similar character to that worn by the "Sacristan"* of the churches in Holland (Lawrence Coster having filled that office in the Church of Baven, at Harlem, for several years), then the relation of Junius will receive additional support; and my having (see vol. i. pp. 178-80) drawn attention to the peculiar costume of that figure, with the view of suggesting that it was intended to represent the Publisher or Printer of the volume, may prove a more satisfactory source of testimony in favour of the work having been issued at Harlem, by Lawrence Coster, than has hitherto been brought forward. In noticing, however, the last design, I cannot refrain from also stating that the companion design of the last page of the *Speculum* (the Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins) is equally symbolical of the Art of Printing, which, like the lamps of the former, would give light to the world, and dispel the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

I have stated, vol. i. p. 155, that, in the early manuscript copies of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*, the Chapters extend to forty-five, of which the fortieth chapter forms the twenty-ninth (the concluding one) in the printed editions. Though rather abruptly terminating the printed work, no designs could have been more appropriate, or more happily capable of bearing the interpretation I have given to them. Furthermore, the fact of Jacobus de Breda's having employed the *same design* of the figure of Daniel, to represent himself as a Printer at Deventer, satisfactorily proves that he viewed that figure not merely in the light of the prophet Daniel, but also as intended to portray the publisher or printer of that work whence he copied the design. That the one is a fac-simile of the other, is at once seen by reference to plates xxxvii. and xxxviii. from the *Speculum*, and the woodcuts in pages 179 and 180 there following.

In the fourth plate illustrating his Dissertation on the Origin of Printing†, M. Koning gives a portrait of Lawrence Coster, and also a fac-simile of his Autograph Signature, as in the ensuing page.

* The word "*Koster*" signifies the office of *Sacristan*; consequently my using of the word "*Custos*," vol. i. p. 179, is incorrect. In the same page I see the church at Harlem is erroneously printed *Patron*, in lieu of *Baven*.

† Dissertation sur l'Origine, &c., de l'Imprimerie. 8vo., *Amst.*, 1819.



"SIGNATURE DE LAURENT, FILS DE JEAN KOSTER."

The portrait is a copy of the first of the seven woodcut portraits of the early Harlem artists, particularly mentioned by Heineken*, who believed them to be forgeries. He states: "Nous avons quelques pieces, qu'on attribue à Laurent Coster. Quoiqu'elles soient taillées en bois par quelqu'un, qui a voulu surprendre les amateurs, en imitant le caractère de l'antiquité; je les spécifierai cependant ici, pour faire plaisir aux curieux, qui ne les connoissent pas encore."

M. Koning considers Baron Heineken to have taken a very unjustifiable view respecting the portraits referred to. M. Koning states (p. 80) that the genuineness of them has never been doubted by any unprejudiced connoisseur; that it is evident from the manner in which they are described by Heineken that he never saw them; that the figure of Lawrence Coster agrees with that published early in the sixteenth century by Adrien Roman, as also with an original painting in the possession of the antiquary, Van Damme, of Amsterdam; and, lastly, M. Koning accounts for the portrait of Lawrence Coster appearing among those of the early Harlem Artists, in consequence of his having been the inventor of the Art of Printing,—a very fair conclusion.

With all his enthusiastic zeal in the cause of Harlem, it is here shewn that M. Koning was not among those who claimed for Lawrence Coster the title of an artist. He considered him to have been the discoverer of moveable type, first in wood, and subsequently in metal, as related by Junius, in the minutest particulars of whose statements M. Koning appears to have placed the fullest confidence.

In respect to the autograph signature of Lawrence Coster, M. Koning refers to it in the fifth chapter of his work, pp. 77-9, wherein he describes his family arms and particulars respecting his having filled the office of Churchwarden† at Harlem during

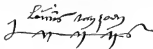
* Idée d'une Collection d'Estampes, 1771, p. 201.

† Koning uses the word *Marguillier*. I presume, therefore, that the offices of Sacristan and Churchwarden were held by the same person.

the years 1421 to 1433, as proved by the registers of the church, the originals* of which were in his possession. M. Koning also, in the same chapter, enters into other matters connected with the family of Lawrence Coster, who, he considers, was born in either 1370 or 1371. He states that his name appears in the treasury accounts of Harlem in 1435, and that, in 1440, a payment was made to his widow: "on trouve inscrit pour l'année 1440, le payement d'une rente à une certaine YVME veuve de LAURENT fils de JEAN." M. Koning supposes he died of the contagion with which the city of Harlem was visited in 1439.

In referring to the autograph signature, M. Koning merely states, in a note, p. 77, "*Sa signature qui se trouve encore chez Jonkh. C. A. van SYPESTEYN à Harlem, étoit ainsi.*" Believing the signature to be the genuine autograph of Lawrence Coster, it is remarkable that M. Koning did not give some account of the document from whence it was taken.

I have in my possession a leaf from an old account book, given, I believe, by M. van Sypesteyn† to my Father on his visiting Harlem in 1824. A portion of the upper part of the leaf has been cut away; but at the foot of the accounts detailed thereon occurs the autograph signature attesting their correctness, as subjoined.



It is here seen that this signature is very similar to that given by M. Koning; but that it was not copied from the *same original*, the formation of some of the letters slightly varying, as also the flourish beneath, clearly shew. The signature given by M. Koning was probably copied from a leaf taken from the same account book. It is certainly that of LAURENS JAN ZOEN, that is, *Lawrence the son of John*, and not *Lawrence Janssoen*, as sometimes incorrectly printed. In early times a surname, unless derived from an estate or office, was unknown, and sons were distinguished from their fathers by adding "son of." *Jan Koster* signifies *John the Sacristan*, and *Laurens Jan Zoen* was the name given to the son during his father's lifetime. At his death, as offices were generally hereditary, *Lawrence John's son* no doubt succeeded to the Clerkship of the church, and consequently became *Laurens Koster* or *Lawrence the Sacristan*.

* "Les registres originaux de cette église, étant depuis tombés dans les mains de l'auteur, il y a trouvé LAURENT fils de JEAN inscrit comme Marguillier pour les années 1421, 1422, 1423, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1431, 1432 et 1433," p. 77.

† M. van Sypesteyn was a distinguished collector of Historical Documents and Autograph Letters.

BLOCK-BOOKS.

HOLLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

I do not for a moment suppose that the chronological order assigned to the various editions of those Block-Books I have ventured to place as the productions of Holland and the Low Countries will meet with general consent. Many there may be, who, on devoting more time to the subject, and possessing a far keener knowledge, may be able to show that my views are altogether incorrect. I have, however, formed my opinions after much study, and a careful examination of those xylographic records, which few, who have written upon the subject, have had the same facilities of consulting.

In the publication of the Block-Books, the proprietors or publishers possessed a very important advantage over those of pictorial works intermixed or accompanied with descriptive texts in moveable type, as is the case in the four editions of the *Speculum*, the edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* printed by Pfister, and other such illustrated works, of which numerous copies were issued soon after printing had become generally known. For, having the work complete in a series of wood-blocks, it was not necessary for the proprietors to take off at any one time more copies than they had immediate demand for. Accordingly, a person might be in the possession of the wood-blocks of one of the editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* for many years, and yet might use them only occasionally. The consequences of that would be, that by using the wood-blocks at intervals, the paper employed would differ, unless a larger stock than was at first wanted, was laid by for future use; though, had such been the case, the same or similar water-marks would have been found in all the copies of the same edition of a block-book, as is the case with the paper used for the *Mazarine* Bible and books in general printed with moveable type, the entire edition being printed off sheet by sheet at one time. Such was the case with the four editions of the *Speculum*; and the probability is, that if all the existing copies of the several editions of that work could be brought together, it would be found that

the water-marks in each edition are the same or of a similar character; an example of which fact is seen in the *Singer*, *Spencer*, *Hibbert*, and *Rendorp* copies of the *third* edition, see plates I. K. and L.

Such, however, is not the case to the same extent in respect to the Block-Books. Indeed, very few copies will be found in which the water-marks so agree, as to warrant the assertion of their having been taken off the blocks at the same time. Take, for instance, the *Spencer*, *British Museum*, *Renouard*, *Lucca*, and *Botfield* copies of the *second* edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*. In the *Spencer* and *Lucca* copies only one mark is found in each; while in the others all the marks are of a different character, with the exception of some of the sheets in the *Botfield* copy, in which a *Tower*, similar to that in the *Lucca* copy, occurs. So likewise with the *Inglis* and *Pembroke* copies of the *first* edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, as also with the copies of all the Block-Books generally. This the reader will see on referring to the water-marks given from the several copies examined; though, at the same time, it is not assumed that two or more copies of the same edition may not be found having the same or similar water-marks.

A more striking example of the employment of the *same* wood-blocks during a long period cannot be adduced, than in the several editions of the *Ars Moriendi*, described, vol. ii, pp. 14-25. There, the use of the blocks in a *perfect* state is first shewn in the *Renouard* copy, plates LVI and LVII. Next, in a *much neglected* state, as seen in the *British Museum* copy, plate LX. After that, the blocks were *cleaned*, and in consequence of the borders of the designs being so broken, as seen in many of the pages in the *British Museum* copy, the *outer border was cut away* and another impression issued with two additional designs (the work of a later period), as in the *Spencer* and *Botfield* copies, thereby causing an alteration in the general appearance of the work.

While the breakages or imperfections in the impressions of the Block-Books from the same blocks, prove the priority of one copy over the other, the period of the first issue of each edition remains a matter of opinion. The water-marks on the paper, however, materially assist in forming an almost conclusive opinion as to *about* the date of the various editions, more particularly when their design, their execution, and their general character, are compared with those in the Block-Books issued in Germany as late as 1470.

In attempting, as it were, a chronological arrangement of the Block-Books that have formed the subject of these volumes, I am induced to think that those placed by me as

The *first* and *second* editions of the *Apocalypse*,
 The *first* and *second* editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*,
 The *first* edition of the *Ars Moriendi*,
 The *first* edition of the *Cantica Canticorum*,

were issued at the same place, and probably by the same persons. Those editions exhibit originality in the designs, and are all more or less executed in the same style. I would not, however, contend that the same artists (the designer and wood-engraver) were employed on each, the character of the design and engraving in the *Apocalypse* appearing to me to be of earlier execution, by probably a few years, than the *Biblia Pauperum*.

APOCALYPSIS S. JOHANNIS. FIRST EDITION.

The particular texture of the paper and the character of the water-marks in the *Spencer* copy of the *First* Edition of that work, induce me to believe that the period when it was first issued was not later than about 1415-1420.

The paper-mark of the P. with the Cross above (see plate R.), in that copy, is peculiar, and such as occurs in no other edition of the Block-Books; nor is it met with in any of the marks found in the Account Books in the Archives at the Hague or elsewhere, at least as far as my researches enable me to state. The same observation equally applies to the *Bull's Head* (plate B.), though marks approaching its character occur in paper, in the Archives at the Hague, ranging in date from 1422 to 1440, and somewhat of the same character as found in the earliest productions from the press of Ulric Zell, who, though a printer at Cologne, was evidently supplied with paper from the Low Countries.

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

This followed the first, at an interval, probably, of a few years. It is remarkable that in the *Inglis* copy of that edition the peculiarly formed *Anchor* (see plate A., No. 4) does not occur in any other copy of the Block-Books that I have met with; and the only instance where it is found, in the Account Books in the Archives at

the Hague, is in a document bearing date 1396. The edition was probably issued about 1420.

I much regret that I have not had the opportunity of examining the imperfect copy of this edition, which occurred at the sale of the library of Dr. Kloss of Frankfort, as particularly referred to, vol. i. p. 23. I am informed that the copy is in the library of Lord Ashburnham, to whom my application, through Mr. Gancia of Brighton, to be allowed to inspect it, has been unsuccessful, owing, I presume, to my having most unintentionally offended his Lordship some years ago, when my house of business was employed in the disposal of the celebrated "*Stowe Collection of Manuscripts*," now in the possession of his Lordship.

If the manuscript note at the close of that volume is, as was stated, in the Autograph of Pope Marten V., we should then have proof that the second edition was not issued later than 1432,

Marten V. having held the Pontificate from 1417 to 1431.

THE THIRD EDITION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The Y, the initial of Isabella, the wife of Philip Duke of Burgundy, occurring in one of the four leaves of this edition, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, late of Wadham College, Oxford, proves that *that* impression could not have been taken off until after the year 1430, the period of the marriage of Isabella with the Duke of Burgundy.

The paper of the *Mariette* copy of the same edition, as mentioned by Heineken (*note*, p. 366), had only the mark of the P and the Y united; no doubt of a form similar to that given at p. 80 in the present volume, the reduced mark, as given in Heineken, appearing on the opposite page, 81.

Here, then, we have an historical fact in connexion with the water-marks, and upon which we arrive at a positive conclusion respecting the date; insomuch as it is quite evident that any paper bearing the Y, or the P and Y united, as water-marks, could not have been made before the event which originated those marks.

THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The *Spencer* copy is in its original binding, having the name of its binder, and the date, 1467, impressed upon its sides. I have (vol. i. p. 22) entered so fully into

particulars respecting the binding of that volume, as to render it unnecessary here to add more, feeling perfectly satisfied as to the genuineness of the date. Consequently that impression could not have been issued later than 1467. The paper-marks that occur in the several copies examined, lead me to think that some of those copies may have been issued as late as 1460, though others may have appeared as early as

1445.

In plates VIII. and IX. are given portions of two of the pages from the Fourth Edition, with the view of showing that the same design was adopted, with more or less variation, in all the editions. It does not require much knowledge of art to see that the engraving of the designs in the Fourth Edition is not executed in the same style as in the preceding ones. The volume is altogether of a different character and was, no doubt, issued in another part of the country, the marks on the paper leading me to believe that its locality was bordering more on the States of Germany than the Low Countries.

BIBLIA PAUPERUM. FIRST EDITION.

The make and texture of the paper of the *Inglis* copy of the Second Edition of the *Apocalypse* and of the *Inglis* copy of the First Edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, are remarkably similar. The P is the only mark in the latter, the coarse make of which resembles most closely many of those in the former, though I cannot fix upon any one of them as agreeing in the minute particulars of form and position between the upright wire-marks, as to justify my stating the paper to have been from the *same* vat, though probably an examination of other copies of the same edition might shew that fact.

The *Inglis* and the *Pembroke* copies are the only ones I have met with containing what I believe to have been the *first series* of wood-blocks used for the work, some of the earliest impressions of which may probably have appeared as early as

1420.

The *Inglis* copies of the First Edition of the *Apocalypse* and *Biblia Pauperum* formed, I believe, a portion of that volume (particularly quoted by Dr. Dibdin in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. iv.), which contained also a copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, in the *original binding*, dated 1428*.

* Dr. Dibdin states that "Mr. Horn, a gentleman long and well known for his familiar acquaintance with ancient books printed abroad, was in the possession of a copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, of the *Ars Moriendi*,

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

The impressions, as particularly noticed, vol. i. pp. 60-1, of the *Spencer A.*, *British Museum*, *Botfield*, *Renouard*, and *Lucca* copies of the Second Edition, being made in part from some of the same wood-blocks used for the First Edition, while the remainder are from a different series of blocks, almost proves that the two editions were issued by the same person.

Consequently it may be presumed, that, shortly after the issue of the original series, many of the wood-blocks were found to be so much damaged by use, that it became necessary to supply their places with others. In doing this, it does not appear that their proprietor resorted to the mechanical operation of laying down on wood the former impressions, and having them recut; but it is evident, by the variations in the design of these pages (as may particularly be seen by referring to the minutely detailed account of the variations that occur in the designs of the various editions, vol. i. pp. 50-7), that they were redrawn.

The many breakages that occur in the impressions of the copies of the Second Edition referred to, shew that several years may have intervened between the issue of the copies of the respective editions; a conjecture borne out by the fact that all of them present a variety in the paper-marks. In the *Spencer* copy, by far the most perfect as regards the impressions, we find that the paper bears only one mark, the *Unicorn rampant*, a mark that I have not met with in any other copy of the Block-Books, or in any printed production of the fifteenth century. At p. 72 I have particularly noticed that mark, there observing that it constantly appeared in some manuscript documents as early as 1390, giving at the same time a specimen of one from a document dated 1410, very similar to that in the *Spencer* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

and of the *Apocalypso*, all bound in one volume; which volume had, upon the exterior of the cover, the following words stamped at the extremity of the binding, towards the edge of the squares:

HIC LIBER RELEGATUS FUIT PER PIERANUM—ECCLESIE—ANNO DOMINI 142(8).

Mr. Horn having broken up the volume, and parted with the contents, was enabled to supply me with the foregoing information upon the strength of his memory alone; but he is quite confident of the three following particulars:

- "1. That the works contained in this volume were as we have just mentioned.
- "2. That the binding was the ancient, legitimate one; and that the treatise had not been subsequently introduced into it: and
- "3. That the date was 142 odd; but positively anterior to the year 1430."

Presuming that some of the original wood-blocks were not rendered useless for several years, and looking to the paper-marks that occur in the copies individually, it is probable that the series of wood-blocks was in use from 1430 to 1450.

THE THIRD EDITION OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

Here we have altogether another edition, composed of impressions from an entirely new series of wood-blocks, apparently copied for the most part from the preceding editions; but though they are very close copies of very many of the pages, yet there are a great many variations, as seen on referring to vol. i. pp. 50-7. They have evidently been engraved by another hand, and are more coarsely executed; the pages differing in their dimensions, being for the most part longer. They have all the appearance of having been engraved by the *same hand* as the pages of the *Third Edition* of the *Apocalypse*. In plate XIII. a fac-simile of the lower portion of the last page from the *Grenville* copy is given below the same design from the *Lucca* copy of the *Second Edition*. The circumstance of the *Grenville* copy of this edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the *Lang* copy of the edition of the *Apocalypse*, being taken off on paper of a similar texture, as also the fact of their having been originally bound in the same volume, justifies a belief that they were engraved by the same person, and issued simultaneously. Indeed, in no two copies of any of the Block-Books that I have seen have I observed the paper to be of so precisely the same texture (independently of the water-marks being of the same character) as in the two volumes mentioned. The large, *high-shouldered Anchor*, as seen in plates D and E, correspond closely in all their minutiae.

In the additional observations (vol. i. pp. 68 et seq.) to the notices of the several editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, it is stated that the *Chatsworth* copy is of the *Third Edition*. In that copy the only marks on the paper are the P, the Y, and the Arms of France, see plate F. Consequently, we may conclude with certainty that the impressions of the *Chatsworth* copy of that edition could not, for the reasons stated in the previous observations upon the *Third Edition* of the *Apocalypse*, have been issued before 1430.

Some of the copies of the *Third Edition* may not have been taken off the blocks until a much later period. I am inclined, therefore, to think that the first issue of the *Third Edition* did not take place before 1435.

THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

This is also another series of wood-blocks corresponding very much with those of the Third Edition, though in many instances differing in the minor details. The *Spencer B.* and *Sykes* copies are the only ones I have had an opportunity of examining. The marks of the *Anchor* in the *Spencer* copy very much resemble those found in the Second Edition. I have only met with one instance of the mark of the *Pair of Scales* occurring in the Block-Books, and that is in the *Sykes* copy. The paper used for that copy was probably of Italian manufacture.

Though I have placed this as the Fourth Edition, there is no reason why it may not have preceded that placed as the Third; and therefore the issue of its *first* impression may have been as early as

1435.

THE FIFTH EDITION OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

Here likewise we have another series of wood-blocks, the designs being for the most part close copies of those in the Second and Third Editions. The copy in the Print Room in the British Museum is the only one* I have seen; and as that is so specially noticed, vol. i. p. 59 and p. 62, it is unnecessary again to refer to the particular character of the engraving. The edition did not probably appear before

1445.

I have not as yet been able to meet with the mark of the *Two Keys joined*, as in the *British Museum* copy, in any manuscript bearing date before that period. Slightly differing in form, it occurs in the *Harlem* copy of the Fourth Edition of the *Speculum*, plate N, and also in the *Spencer* copy of the *Saliceto*, plate O. The mark is also sometimes found in the early printed productions of Fust at Mentz, and also in the works issued by Ulric Zell at Cologne.

THE SIXTH EDITION OF THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

This edition differs very much in design from any of the preceding. The style of engraving closely corresponds with that of the *Cracherode* and *Bodleian* copies of the *Cantica Canticorum*. The *Bodleian* copy is the only one I have seen. It is, as

* During the printing of this sheet I have had an opportunity of examining another copy of the same edition, as particularly noticed in the additional observations referred to in the preceding page.

stated, vol. i. p. 64, engraved in a very coarse manner; but, as I had not the opportunity of comparing the designs with those of the other editions, in the same way as I did the eight copies brought together at the British Museum, it becomes difficult to state from what series of blocks the designs were copied.

Though placed among the productions of the Low Countries, it was probably issued in a different locality from any of the other editions, and not before

1450 to 1460.

In the preceding arrangement of the *Biblia Pauperum* it is seen that the edition placed by Heineken as the FIRST OF THE WORK IS OMITTED. That edition I have unhesitatingly placed among the Block-Books of Germany. It is evidently, as particularly noticed vol. ii. pp. 51-2, a coarse copy, nay, almost a fac-simile, of the Sixth Edition. It is, however, due to Baron Heineken to state, that, when placing that edition as the first, he observed: "If I place them one after the other, it is only to explain the difference between them; for I candidly confess that I neither know which is the original nor the epoch of the five." See vol. i. p. 48.

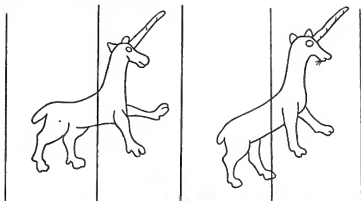
ARS MORIENDI. FIRST EDITION.

The mark of the *Unicorn* in the *Harlem* copy of the First Edition is of the same peculiar form as is found in the *Rendorp* copies of the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Cantica Canticorum*, though in the latter work the *Unicorn* is placed downwards between the water-lines.

Though I have often had occasion to notice the difficulty of identifying two marks as agreeing in all their minutiae, I do so again in consequence of finding, in a copy of the *Sermones Sancti Johannis Chrisostomi* (printed by Ulric Zell, in 4to., without date), among other marks, two of the *Unicorn*, from different moulds, which, as in the *Ars Moriendi*, are placed in the more usual way, *upright*, between the wires. I have examined a great many books from the press of Ulric Zell, but the copy of the book alluded to was the only one in which I have met with the *Unicorn* of that form.

In the ensuing page are copies of the tracings of those marks, which, though apparently the same as in the copies referred to of the *Ars Moriendi*, *Biblia Pauperum*, *Cantica Canticorum*, yet it will be found, that, by placing tracings of the one

over the other, they so differ in position as at once to prove that the paper on which they occur was from different vats.



From the circumstance of not finding the peculiarly formed *Unicorn* in any productions from the presses of Veldener, and other of the Cologne printers, or of the Low Countries, save only on one of the earliest books printed by Ulric Zell, it is most probable that the early moulds for the marks of that particular form were broken up, the paper-makers of the Low Countries afterwards adopting the frequent use of the mark in an infinite variety of shape, producing them progressively, as shewn by us in this volume, pp. 73-4, of the most ludicrous and nondescript character.

In the only three copies of the First Edition of the *Ars Moriendi* that I have been able to refer to, the marks on the paper of each copy differ, and do not throw any light upon the period of their issue, though the mark of the *Unicorn*, which is almost identical with one on the *Rendorp* copies of the Block-Books referred to, would induce me to think that they were all issued about the same time. Looking, however, to the engraving, not merely of the designs in the *Ars Moriendi*, of the edition under consideration, but also to the pages of wood-type, I am induced to think that the blocks for that series were not engraved later than about 1430, though the impressions in some of the existing copies may not have been taken off until after that period, and even as late as 1445 to 1450.

TEMPTATIONES DÆMONIS.

The xylographical broadside, described vol. i. p. 121, though coming under the denomination of Single Engravings, is one of more than usual interest. With the exception of the figures at the upper part of the sheet, the whole is composed of block-type, cut in precisely the same style as the descriptive block-text to the First Edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Ars Moriendi*. The evidence of this fact is so plain, that the sheet of the *Temptationes Dæmonis* may unhesitatingly be considered as the engraving of the same school, and to have been executed at about the same period, 1430.

ALPHABET OF INITIAL LETTERS.

To about the same period also, or perhaps later, may the very curious little Block-Book composed of an Alphabet of Initial Letters be assigned. The relic carries with it that peculiar characteristic of antiquity which ought to satisfy the mind of the most sceptical.

CANTICA CANTICORUM. FIRST EDITION.

Presuming our hypothesis respecting the historical character of that work to be correct, the First Edition could not have appeared before 1440, as Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was not elected Pope, under the title of Felix V., until 1439. I have, in vol. i. so fully entered into the allegorical nature of the designs, that I must refer the reader to those points, leaving the conclusions I have drawn respecting the periods to the more learned in history, content in the belief that I am not far out in my views respecting the nature of the work, and its issue a few years after the period named, consequently about 1445.

All the marks on the paper of several copies of the First Edition vary. The paper of the *Rendorp* copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* was of the same manufacture as that of the *Rendorp* copy of the *Cantica Canticorum*. These copies (originally bound together) having been in the possession* of my Father many years ago, I am

* They were in the library of Count Rendorp, purchased by, and brought to this country for sale, in 1825, by my Father.

enabled to state, positively, a fact which could otherwise only be inferred, after the separation of the copies, from the great similarity of the water-marks. Having, without any reference to these works, thought that copies of the second edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* (of which I believe the *Rendorp* copy is an impression) may have been issued as late or later than 1440, the almost identity of the marks confirms that opinion; because, allowing our historical hypothesis to be correct, the first edition of the *Cantica Canticorum* could not have appeared until 1440. As the impressions in the *Spencer* copy of the first edition of that work are so very much better than those in the *Rendorp* copy in the British Museum, I much regret that, owing to the leaves of the *Spencer* copy being so firmly pasted together, it was not possible to obtain the least gleam of the character of the water-marks, as otherwise a comparison of the marks might have proved useful.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS OF THE CANTICA CANTICORUM.

An examination of the marks of only one copy of each of these Editions (the one in the *British Museum*, and the other in the *Bodleian Library*, the only copies known in this country), does not enable me to form otherwise than a vague opinion of the period of their issue. The designs and the engraving in these Editions are palpably of so inferior a style, and the general character of the works such as to leave no doubt in my mind that they were not executed until several years after the First Edition, and more probably on the confines of Germany than in the Low Countries. I do not think the Second Edition appeared before 1450, nor that the Third Edition was issued earlier than 1460.

From the observations in the preceding pages it is seen that I consider the first editions of each of the chief of the existing Block-Books to have been the productions of Holland or the Low Countries; and though I believe them to have been issued in Holland Proper, yet I must confess there are no ostensible points in any way connected with the works themselves that can be brought forward to confirm that opinion. It might be shewn that the same peculiar form of letter was used in the seals of Holland Proper as early as the fourteenth century; but then the probability is, that seals appertaining to all parts of the Netherlands would be found of the same period, with characters of similar form.

In having also drawn attention to the characteristic features in the engraving of the designs of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum* agreeing with those in the wood-engravings issued in books printed at HARLEM, I must leave all conclusions to be drawn from my remarks on that point, to those more capable of deciding how far the similarity of their design and execution warrants a belief that the wood-blocks engraved for the *first* two editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *first* edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, the first edition of the *Cantica Canticorum*, and the *Speculum*, were by the hands of artists of that locality.

LIBER REGUM.

It was during the printing of this sheet that I had the pleasure of inspecting the copy of the *Liber Regum* lately in the possession of Mr. Boone. Having occasion to insert in my first volume (sheet Q*) some additional notices of xylographical productions, of which the earliest editions were probably executed in the Low Countries, I availed myself of that opportunity of entering into a brief description of that Block-Book, of which only two copies are at present known.

To that notice I have only to add, that the designs and the engraving are equally coarse; the latter so much resembling that in the edition of the *Apocalypse*, placed by me as the fourth of the work, as to induce me to believe them to have been the production of the same artist, and to have been issued in the same locality, on the confines of Germany rather than the Low Countries.

The only mark on the paper of the copy mentioned, is that of a *Serpent*, each sheet bearing one very similar to that at the side. The mark is one of very rare occurrence. Among the Archives in the Tower of London is a letter to the Archhishop of Canterbury, dated 1447, the paper bearing a mark of the same kind, though of smaller form.



"THE BRUSSELS WOODCUT," DATED 1418.

Until the year 1844, the earliest wood-engraving bearing the date of its execution, was THE ST. CHRISTOPHER, 1423. The discovery, however, at Malines, of one dated 1418, evidently the production of the Low Countries, entitles that country to claim the precedence of Germany until one of an earlier date is found.

Various are the opinions entertained respecting the authenticity of the date of the "BRUSSELS WOODCUT of 1418." Within two years of its discovery, there appeared three* *brochures* respecting it. The first is from the pen of M. le Baron de Reiffenberg, the second from M. G. D. B., and the third from M. I. A. L. In the first of these pamphlets there is what is stated to be a "*fac-simile*." It is, however, a mere outline; and though it is coloured, and of the same size as the original, it does not convey to those acquainted with early xylographic productions any satisfactory idea of the original. The second merely gives a reduced outline, taken from that of the Baron de Reiffenberg. The third carries with it the evidence of its being in reality a *fac-simile*, and enables us to form a pretty accurate idea of the original.

The Baron de Reiffenberg, who had the more immediate charge of the early wood-engraving, appears to have been most zealous in endeavouring to prove the genuineness of the date, evidently with the desire of removing the doubt that had arisen respecting it. After quoting numerous instances of the preservation of early xylographic productions and manuscripts, and most correctly stating, at p. 13, "Il est certain qu'il existait dans les Pays-Bas avant le milieu du quinzième siècle, quantité de xylographes ou d'imagers dont les gravures étaient souvent accompagnées de légendes en caractères immobiles;" he enters on a long detail respecting the discovery of the engraving.

He states, p. 15: "Il y a environ huit mois, on allait briser à Malines un vieux

* I. "La Plus Ancienne Gravure connue avec une date. Mémoire par Le Baron de Reiffenberg, de l'Institut de France, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, etc. (Présenté dans la séance du 7 Mai, 1845.) Avec un *Fac-simile*."

II. "Quelques Mots sur la Gravure au Millésime de 1418. Par G. D. B. Avec sept Planches. Bruxelles, à la Librairie ancienne et moderne de A. Van Dale, Rue des Carrières, 1846."

III. "Opinion d'un Bibliophile sur l'estampe de 1418, conservée à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles. Par M. I. A. L., Rédacteur de la Renaissance, Membre de la Société Belge et de la Société Française pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques. 3 Planches *fac-similes*. Bruxelles, Société des Beaux Arts; Gérard. A. de Waele, Place du Grand Sablon. No. 11. 1846."

coffre de rebut sorti des archives de Malines, et dont on avait extrait des papiers moisés. Ce coffre était devenu la propriété d'un ignorant cabaretier. Dans l'intérieur du couvercle était collée une image à peine visible. Par bonheur il se trouvait là un curieux, qui en détacha les fragments, les réunit ensuite avec adresse, et comprit, à l'inspection de la date de 1418, qui y est clairement exprimée, que cette feuille pouvait intéresser l'histoire de l'art." The Baron then tells us, p. 16, that the relic was purchased "au prix de 500 francs, véritable bagatelle pour un morceau de cette importance, unique et inédit." He then describes the general appearance of the engraving, stating that the paper bears the mark of an anchor, and that the impression had been obtained by friction, and adds that the fac-simile presented to his readers "*a été exécuté avec un scrupule extrême de notre estampe, par M. Severyns de Bruxelles.*" In respect to the latter observation, I only observe, that, had the fac-similes we have given in this work been executed in such a style, the work, as one of future reference, would have been of little value.

In allusion to the date, the Baron observes, p. 22: "C'est sur la première traverse de la barrière voisine de l'animal qu'est l'inscription capitale, le signe sacramentel et distinctif de l'estampe, le millésime de mcccxviii, et il y est d'une manière nette, précise, incontestable."

"Que l'on s'arme de la loupe la plus grossiante, que l'œil perce à travers la trame du papier, on n'apercevra aucun signe de falsifications. D'ailleurs la falsification était impossible, puisque l'image nous est arrivée directement du coffre expulsé de Malines. Elle n'a été que quelques jours en la possession d'abord d'un cabaretier qui n'avait aucune idée de l'art ni de gravure, ensuite de M. l'architecte de Nوتر, dont la probité exclut tout soupçon de fraude et de tromperie, et dont le caractère n'admet pas la supposition d'une plaisanterie qui, sans être incompatible avec la probité, devrait être bannie de la bonne compagnie, et particulièrement du monde scientifique où elle peut jeter le trouble et le désordre."

I am inclined to think that the Baron de Reiffenberg would not have thus expressed himself respecting the date of the engraving, had he not felt that some arguments were required to do away with the belief that it did in itself convey a different impression to the mind of those who examined it. Otherwise, why enter into a matter that ought not to require one word to be said about it?

The author, M. Browe, "*Conservateur de la Galerie du Prince d'Arenberg,*" on

receiving the *brochure* of the Baron de Reiffenberg, appears to have taken another view of the point at issue. He contends that the style of the engraving, and the costume of the numerous figures it represents, does not warrant the date 1418: and in order to support his views he gives no less than forty-six designs of female costume from illuminated manuscripts dated from 1401 to 1491*. How far he establishes his position, I must leave others more learned in costume than myself to decide, only observing, that I do not put much faith in a decision founded upon such ever changeable incidents; Costume and Armour, in many manuscripts, being oftentimes designed according to the fancy of the artist. I do not consider it within the scope of any man's judgment to be capable of deciding upon what was the peculiar form of any personal habiliment, male or female, within a range even of twenty years, unless it be some change of a very extraordinary nature.

M. Browe acknowledges, that, when he wrote his views, he had not seen the original. Nor was this necessary for the purpose of enabling him to judge of it, the copy in the *brochure* of the Baron de Reiffenberg being sufficient for his purpose. Not so, however, in respect to the question of the date: and accordingly he issued, by way of a supplement to his pamphlet, "*Un dernier mot sur l'Estantpe au millésime de 1418.*" In this he defends the position taken by him in respect to the Costume, and then, at page 23, closes his observations as follows: "Maintenant un mot sur le date, car là est toute la question. Nous avons lu, et l'on avait dit et redit tant de fois, que la date était très-lisible et on ne peut plus authentique, que nous ne pouvions la révoquer en doute, et c'est d'après cette donnée que nous avons entrepris nos recherches. Aujourd'hui nous devons avouer que nous aurions pu nous épargner la peine de ces recherches, car la date, telle qu'elle se présente, n'est plus dans son état primitif et pourrait bien avoir été altérée. En effet, tous les chiffres ont été repassés avec un crayon à la mine de plomb, le *xxxx*. fort légèrement, aussi peut-on à peine le distinguer; mais dans le chiffre *xviii*, le *x* et le *v* ont été marqués au crayon avec une telle force, qu'il est devenu impossible de dire quels chiffres y étaient primitivement. Les trois unités

* "Nous devons avouer que nous n'avons point vu la gravure originale, c'est d'après le *fac-simile* donné par M. le Baron de Reiffenberg dans son *mémoire*, que nous avons porté notre jugement: *fac-simile* qui d'après son avou, est d'une scrupuleuse exactitude; et comme nous ne jugeons point cette estampe d'après la date qu'elle porte ni les filigranes du papier, mais d'après le costume et le style; la différence est donc pour nous entièrement nulle, et la vue de la pièce originale ne pourrait en aucune manière influer sur notre jugement." (P. 17, *note*.)

seules sont encore à peu près intactes, et telles probablement qu'elles ont été d'abord imprimées.

"Voilà donc cette date, qui a mis tous les iconographes en émoi, condamnée à rester éternellement douteuse, à moins qu'une seconde épreuve ne vienne au secours de la première, pour restituer des chiffres si malencontreusement défigurés.

"On dira peut-être que si ces chiffres ont été repassés au crayon c'était uniquement pour les rendre plus distincts, mais la faute n'en serait pas moins impardonnable, parceque dorénavant la réalité de cette date pourra toujours être contestée et certainement avec de fortes raisons. Mieux aurait valu laisser ces chiffres dans l'état où ils étaient, quelque faibles qu'ils fussent; chacun alors aurait pu juger si la date de 1418 s'y trouvait réellement et indubitablement.

"Ce que nous venons de dire est la simple et pure vérité; d'autres que nous et dont nul ne suspectera la bonne foi, ont fait la même remarque, et pourront, si cela devenait nécessaire, appuyer nos paroles."

After such circumstantial evidence as the preceding, I can no longer doubt the opinion conveyed to me by a friend soon after the discovery of the relic, namely, that the *date of 1418 has been in some way tampered with, or accidentally injured.*

M. I. A. L. adopts the views of the Baron de Reiffenberg. After re quoting the St. Christopher woodcut, dated 1423*, and giving a fac-simile of it in support of that dated 1418, he states, p. 14:—"Pour nous, le fait n'est pas douteux. L'estampe au millésime de 1418, appartenant à la bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, porte en soi tous les signes évidents et caractéristiques de sa haute antiquité. Notre crainte première—pourquoi ne pas le dire?—avait été d'avoir à lutter contre l'œuvre d'habiles faussaires, attendu que le *vol à l'estampe* est aussi fréquent de nos jours que le *vol à l'autographe* et le *vol au bonjour*; mais à la simple inspection de l'original, nous avons été bientôt convaincu que nos craintes n'étaient pas fondées et que l'épreuve de 1418 est pure de toute falsification calculée—c'est à dire qu'est parfaitement authentique."

M. I. A. L., in contending against the opinion of M. Browe, thus closes his

* That remarkably coarse but celebrated wood-engraving has been so frequently given in fac-simile, that I have not thought it necessary to repeat it. The best fac-simile is in the *History of Wood-Engraving* by W. Young Ottley, vol. i. p. 90.

remarks, p. 20: "Malheureusement pour M. de B, il a trouvé en nous un lecteur récalcitrant. Nous ne sommes pas du nombre de ces êtres privilégiés qui jugent des œuvres d'art par intuition; nous avons la faiblesse de vouloir connaître, analyser et discuter nos impressions. L'auteur de la brochure intitulée *Quelques mots sur l'estampe au millésime de 1418*, voudra donc bien nous permettre de ne pas être de son avis, par les raisons que nous avons déjà déduites."

Here we have a totally opposite opinion to that of M. Browe; but as that of M. I. A. L. was written previous to the "*Dernier Mot*," it was hardly fair in M. I. A. L., at p. 8, to taunt M. Browe with giving his opinion respecting the wood-engraving without having seen it.

It was not until nearly at the close of my second volume that I was induced to read through the three treatises upon the subject. It was in consequence of referring to "The Brussels Woodcut" that I have been induced to give the ensuing notice of one existing at Lyons, put forth with great flourish, in 1844, as of the indisputable date of 1384, preceding the date of the St. Christopher by nearly half a century!!!

During the year 1844 a volume was issued detailing the literary treasures in the "Palais des Arts" at Lyons*. In that work occurs a fac-simile copy of a wood-cut stated to be the portrait of Peter Schloting, a wound doctor ("*wundarzt*"), who, we presume, lived at Nuremberg in 1384, or, more probably, in 1594! The wood-cut is of coarse execution, and was probably the work of Josse Ammon, who was at Nuremberg in 1584, following the occupation of a wood-engraver.

The original is in the "Adamoli Library," forming part of the Lyons collection. The compiler of the catalogue, when referring to the early printed books formed by M. Adamoli, adds the following note: "La Bibliothèque possède quelques exemplaires, assez beaux, d'éditions rare du xv^e siècle: Adamoli a réuni à une '*Legenda sanctorum voragine*' une gravure qui porte la date authentique de 1384, et qui aurait dès-lors précédé d'un quart de siècle le S. Christophe, la première des gravures connues."

* Rapport sur les Livres et Estampes des Bibliothèques du Palais des Arts, présenté à M. Torme, Maire de Lyon, Député du Rhone. *Lyon: Imprimerie de Louis Perrin, MDCCCLIV. Folio.*

The Wood-Engraving of 1418 is now preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels.

It represents the Virgin and Child, seated within an inclosure. On the one side of the Virgin is Saint Katharine, and on the other Saint Barbara, two other female Saints appearing in the lower part. On the upper bar of the gate to the inclosure is the date M:CCCC.XVIII. The lower portion of the engraving is wanting. Its width is nearly ten inches, and its height fifteen inches.

I have not had the opportunity of examining the original; and though the facsimile given in the *brochure* of M. I. A. L. appears to be done with great accuracy, I cannot venture an opinion respecting the authenticity of the date, so much questioned by M. Browe.

There is no more reason, however, to doubt the fact of its genuineness, merely on account of its having so long escaped notice, than there is of the St. CHRISTOPHER, dated 1423, and numerous other early engravings, which have been found concealed for several centuries within the covers of old books, printed and manuscript, in monasteries and other safe repositories. It reminds me of the discovery of the FAIRFAX MANUSCRIPTS, which escaped destruction during the civil wars in this country, by their being concealed in the lower part of an old box, the upper portion being filled with Dutch tiles! Many are the works of art and objects of interest which have been long concealed, and, after many years, have been thus fortuitously discovered. Among the many instances that could be enumerated, of a similar description, is that of one of the most interesting English Chartularies, on vellum, which had been consigned to a kitchen cupboard for culinary purposes, and which was rescued from destruction and brought to London, where it was sold for several hundred pounds. Some years since, Mr. Thorpe, the bookseller, had for sale a noble specimen from the press of Caxton, which had been dedicated to the closet, but was fortunately rescued ere a leaf was destroyed.

THE BLOCK-BOOKS

OF

GERMANY.

I do not think it at all necessary, while reviewing the Block-Books of Germany, to refer to those few works printed in that country, which, for the sake of calling attention to the style of the design, and the execution of their woodcut illustrations, I have had occasion to notice. The examples given sufficiently shew that the same coarse style exhibited in the early Block-Books of Germany, is apparent in the numerous illustrated works printed in that country.

Far more in number are the xylographical productions of Germany than those of the Low Countries, though the greater portion of them bear evidence, many having dates attached to them, of their having been issued at a later period.

With one or two exceptions, the marks on the paper are of a totally different character. Like those in the Block-Books of Holland and the Low Countries, they are of a kind similar to those found in early manuscripts and in the printed productions of Germany.

ARS MEMORANDI. FIRST EDITION.

This work has been generally considered by bibliographers to have taken the precedence of all other xylographical productions in the form of a book. The learned printer, M. Renouard*, has recorded his opinion, that it preceded the

* In M. Renouard's copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, lately purchased at Paris by Mr. Boone, occurred the following note in the autograph of M. Renouard, from which it is evident that he at the time thought he was writing it in his own copy of the *Ars Memorandi*: "Ce livre, si rare et d'une exécution si informe, est reconnu pour être le premier que longtemps avant l'invention des caractères typographiques et de la presse d'imprimerie on ait formé d'une réunion de feuillets non manuscrits, et pouvant se reproduire à un plus ou moins grand nombre d'exemplaires identiques. La fabrication des cartes à jouer, et plus encore le Saint-Christophe daté de 1423, et quelques autres gravures en bois de cette grande dimension, furent très-probablement ce qui fit penser à en exécuter d'autres de moyenne grandeur, assez nombreuses pour que leur réunion formât un livre. Peu après vinrent les *Biblia Pauperum*, l'*Ars Moriendi*, etc., etc., d'une moins repoussante exécution, et qui sans doute reçurent bien plus d'accueil, car on ne connaît que deux éditions de l'*Ars Memorandi* (cet exemplaire est de la première), et presque tous les volumes analogues qui suivirent ce grossier essai furent reproduits et multipliés par des éditions différentes et bien plus nombreuses, ce qui ne les a pas empêchés de devenir tous extrêmement rares."—R.

invention of printing by moveable type "*a long while*," and that it was followed by the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Ars Moriendi*, &c.

Dr. Dibdin also observes*: "I have no hesitation in placing this work as the *first* in the list of those, in the present collection, which were executed by means of wooden blocks IN THE INFANCY OF THE ART OF PRINTING. It bears every mark of extreme antiquity, as well from the formation of the types as from the outline and colouring; and was probably executed before the year 1430." The learned bibliographer then adds a note referring to the often-quoted volume (bound in 1428?), formerly in the possession of Mr. Horn, that, "as the *Ars Memorandi* has every appearance of being executed before either of the treatises here (there) mentioned, I can only conclude this note in the words with which it is commenced, that the reader will not consider the above conclusion a precipitate or ungrounded one."

The preceding opinion of Dr. Dibdin accords with that of M. Renouard. Heineken, however, appears to have entertained a different opinion. He states, p. 395, "Cette production nous paroit être de vieille date et cependant pas si ancienne que les précédentes." Those, the preceding, mentioned by him included the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Apocalypse*, the *Cantica Canticorum*, the *De Generatione Christi*, the *Der Endkrist*, and the *Quindecim Signa*. Heineken adds to that opinion, "Je crois pourtant, que c'est le premier livre, qui ait paru avec un discours ajouté à chaque image, et qui occupe lui seul une page entière." As the only two block-editions known of the *De Generatione Christi*, a work described by him, pp. 378-83, under the more usually known title, *Historia Virginis*, bear the dates 1470 and 1471, it would appear that Heineken considered the *Ars Memorandi* to have been subsequent to that period. I cannot, however, think that such could have been his opinion, and therefore I conjecture that some transposition in the chronological arrangement of the several works described by him took place during the printing of his work.

Mr. Ottley†, in his *General Remarks concerning the Early Block-Books*, passed over the *Ars Memorandi* as unworthy of his consideration, at the same time, erroneously, I think, classing it with the *Apocalypse* and the *Ars Moriendi*, stating, "they are evidently of another and very inferior school; and, whether executed in Germany or in the Low Countries, were probably the rude manufacture of the

* Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. i. p. v.

† History of Engraving, vol. i. p. 108.

ordinary cardmaker." At the time when (in 1816) Mr. Ottley published this opinion, he had not carefully examined the works to which he referred; and I have reason to believe, that, after he had given more attention to the designs in the first editions of the *Apocalypse* and the *Ars Moriendi*, he did not entertain so poor an opinion of their merits.

The wood-blocks used for the First Edition of the *Ars Memorandi* may have been executed between the years 1420 and 1430.

According to the inscription under the fac-simile of one of the designs of that work, in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, such is its "*supposed*" date; but, as in the plate following (an impression from one of the original blocks of an edition of the *Apocalypse*, an edition which bears evidence, in the costume, of being later in date than the Fourth Edition), the same period is assigned to it, I am inclined to think that Dr. Dibdin had not paid much attention to the subject; though, after all, any opinion must be, in the absence of dated facts, a matter of conjecture.

Accordingly, in respect to the *Ars Memorandi*, there is nothing to shew that the First Edition of the work may not have been issued as early as the period stated, 1420-30. Most true it is, that, hitherto, I have not been able to meet with the paper-mark of the *St. Catherine Wheel* earlier than 1428, see p. 53. It may, however, have been a constant mark at an earlier period, both in Germany and the Low Countries, as the mark itself, like the *Bull's Head*, does not come under that of a *local* or *national* character. The *large Bull's Head*, which, with the *St. Catherine Wheel*, is found in the *Hibbert* and *Spencer* copies of the First Edition, occurs, of a very similar form, in manuscripts as early as 1430, and probably earlier. It was a constant mark in the books issued by Pfister, Schlusler, Gunther Zainer, and other German printers; and continued in use with an infinite variety of ornaments on the stem between the horns, and more frequently with ornaments below the head, to the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries.

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE *ARS MEMORANDI*

is, in respect to the designs, a close copy of the First Edition; but whether executed ten or more years later, there is nothing whereby a satisfactory opinion can be formed.

The variety of marks, see plate R, that occur in the few copies I have seen of the two editions, shew that the wood-blocks were used at various times.

Impressions of both editions may have been taken at intervals during a period of thirty years, consequently copies may exist, of which the paper might be shewn to have been made not before

1460,

or later. This remark is applicable to all the Block-Books. The fact of their bearing a date, as is the case with many of those executed in Germany, only shews that the work was not executed *before* that period, though the blocks with the same date were used for many years after, and probably at different places.

DER ENDKRIST, AND THE QUINDECIM SIGNA.

Though the *Spencer* copy of these works (so fully described vol. ii. pp. 38-46) has the general appearance of antiquity, which many early wood-engravings, when coloured in that peculiarly coarse style with metallic materials, possess, I cannot agree with the author of the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* in assigning to them so early a date as

1430.

In describing the *Quindecim Signa*, vol. ii. p. 42, it is considered as being a continuation of the *Der Endkrist*. On re-examining, however, the block-text beneath the woodcuts, the former appears to me to have been executed at an earlier period than the latter; the text of which has the appearance of having been printed with moveable type, though the kerning of the letters proves it not to have so been.

It is remarkable, that, in the later edition of those works, the text, which is clearly in moveable type, and printed on both sides, bears a strong resemblance to the text of that in the Block-Books. At page 46, vol. ii. is given, for the convenience of comparison, a very carefully executed woodcut fac-simile of the same design as in the upper part of our plate LXIII. The moveable type bears a great similarity to that used by John Zainer of Ulm; and as there is an edition of the *Ars Moriendi* bearing the name of *Ludwig zu Ulm*, it is not improbable but that the designs in the printed editions of the *Der Endkrist* and *Quindecim Signa* are by the same hand.

There are, in the British Museum, two* copies of another edition, in which the

* During the summer of 1855, I had a visit from the manager of the old-book department of the establishment of M. T. O. Weigel of Leipzig. As he said he had much to communicate to me respecting my work, I fully expected he had brought with him some fac-similes I had some time previously particularly asked M. Weigel to favour me with. Much to my disappointment, he only brought with him a copy of the above mentioned works, which, at my request, he took to the British Museum. It was immediately bought by

same wood-blocks as used in the *Spencer* copy of the printed one were employed. The text, recomposed, is in a very similar type, though a little smaller, and was most probably the production of the press of John Zainer of Ulm.

The edition is without any regular title-page. It begins with a large initial letter to the first word, "*Hye*," and ends with seventeen lines on the reverse of the 20th leaf, the last line being "*mei deus Got erbarre dich uber mich Amen.*"

Reverting to the *Spencer* copy of the Block-edition of the works under notice, I cannot make up my mind to place the engraving of the blocks earlier than 1440, though the marks of the *Bull* of that particular form, as on the paper of that copy, induce me to think the impressions not to have been taken off the blocks before

1450.

ANOTHER BLOCK-EDITION OF THE ENDKRIST

bears the date

1472,

that edition of the work conveying, on the last page of text, the information that "*Der jungheanns priffinaler hat das buch zu nuremberg. o. ð 1472 28.*"

ARS MORIENDI. *Small Quarto Edition.*

I quite agree with Heineken that the general character of the small quarto edition, described vol. ii. pp. 10-13, appears to possess "*toutes les marques de la plus haute antiquité.*" Dr. Dibdin*, in describing the *Spencer* copy, states, while reviewing the opinion of Heineken, "*I strongly incline to think that it yields to no known impression extant, in point of antiquity.*"

Though the wood-blocks may, perhaps, have been engraved earlier than the edition I have placed as the first, or rather as that executed in the Low Countries, the fact of the water-mark of the P and Y occurring in the *Mariette* copy, as parti-

Mr. Jones, as the copy then in the library was not perfect. A remarkable circumstance connected with that copy, is, that only one leaf throughout the volume bears a water-mark, a P, which, as it differs from those given, of a similar character, at p. 77 in the present volume, I here subjoin.



* *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. viii.

cularly noticed, p. 81 in the present volume, satisfactorily prove that the impressions of that copy were not taken off the blocks until after 1430.

No information is to be gained from the marks in the paper of the two copies I have seen, as the leaves are so firmly pasted together that it is impossible to distinguish more than a portion of a *Bull's Head* occurring on the leaf in the *British Museum* copy.

It is mentioned, vol. ii. p. 13, that there was a copy of the same edition in the Royal Library at Munich. This is stated on the authority of Dr. Dibdin, who, in his *Bibliographical Tour*, vol. ii. p. 283, while reviewing the various Block-Books in that library, relates: "Here are two editions, of which one copy is indisputably the most ancient, like that in Lord Spencer's library (see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. pp. xv-xxiii., where fac-similes of some of the cuts will be found), but of a considerably larger size in quarto. There can be no doubt of the whole of this production being xylographical. Unluckily, this fine copy has the first and last pages of the text in MS. The other pages, with blank reverses, are faintly impressed in brown ink: especially the first, which seems to be injured. A double-line border is round each page. This copy, which is bound in blue morocco, has also received injury from stain. I consider the second copy, which is bound in morocco, to be printed with moveable metal types. The ink is, however, of a palish brown. I never saw another copy of this latter impression."

My reason for referring to the account given by Dr. Dibdin is, that he states the pages to be inclosed within "a double-line border," while those in the *Spencer* and *British Museum* copies have only one. Consequently, some alterations may have been made in the wood-blocks similar to those in the series first used for the *Renouard* copy of the edition described vol. ii. pp. 14 et seq. If so, the copy at Munich may be of an earlier date than those described; which is not at all unlikely, as the impressions of those copies shew many breakages in the border and in other parts of the pages. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Dibdin should have generally given a very meagre account of the xylographical works in the libraries that he visited when on the Continent, for the purpose of collecting materials for the work (the *Bibliographical Tour*) that so soon after made its appearance.

THE EDITION of the *ARS MORIENDI*, placed by Heineken as the *first of the work*, is one of so Gothic a character that it causes me to lament I did not obtain, through the aid of M. Lichtenthaler, the Director of the Royal Library at Munich, more information respecting it, more particularly as the copy at Munich is perhaps the only one known in so perfect a state. It merely wants the first and last pages of text, and is probably the same as was formerly in the library of Wolfenbützel, whence Heineken obtained his fac-simile of the first design, a copy of which is given, plate LXII. The circumstance of Dr. Dibdin mentioning that the copy seen by him at Munich was in a similar imperfect state, and at the same time referring to it as being "*like that in Lord Spencer's library*," induces me to think, that, when he wrote that observation, he did so from recollection, or loose memoranda, and that instead of the one he describes being of a similar edition to that in the *Spencer* library, it was that formerly in the library at Wolfenbützel.

It is the only edition known of the same design, and may have been executed as early as 1440;
and if the four water-marks, given pl. S., Nos. 1 to 4, are from that edition in the Munich library, they are of a character fully warranting its being assigned to so early a date.

THE SERIES OF WOOD-BLOCKS for the *Renouard* copy of the *Ars Moriendi* was probably not engraved earlier than 1460.

The designs are, as stated, almost fac-similes of the edition described, vol. i., as the production of the Low Countries, while the text, which has comparatively a more modern formation, is of a totally different character.

I have, in my second volume, pp. 17-26, I think clearly shewn, by the copy at the *British Museum*, that the same wood-blocks, when in a somewhat injured state, and much surcharged with ink, were used for that copy. Also that, subsequently, the outer border of the designs was cut away, and with the addition of two more designs, the work reappeared as a new edition, some copies, however, having two other designs in lieu of those occurring in the *Spencer* and *Botfield* copies.

The paper-mark, pl. S., N. 1, in the *Renouard* copy, is of a similar character to that, No. 6, from one of the editions in the Royal Library at Munich; probably the same edition. Mark No. 9, also from a copy at Munich, agrees with that in the *Botfield*

and *Spencer* copies. The mark on the paper of the *British Museum* copy is that of a nondescript animal given at the right corner of plate S. It is a mark that I have not seen elsewhere.

Taking into consideration the texture of the paper, and the character of the water-marks, it is probable that the *British Museum*, *Spencer*, and *Botfield* copies were not issued before

1470,

and probably later, as the blocks were evidently used when in a damaged state.

The EDITION of the *ARS MORIENDI*, with the text in the German language, of which there was, according to Heineken (see vol. ii. pp. 28-9), a copy in the Public Library at Zwickau, bears the name of the engraver and date, *Dans s'porrr*, 1473.

ANOTHER EDITION, also with the text in German, of which a copy is in the Imperial Library at Paris, has no date, but bears the name, *Ludwig zu Ulm* (1470-80).

There are many other editions in which the wood-blocks used for early editions were employed; but as those have the text in moveable type, they do not come under the denomination of Block-Books. I must not, however, omit to notice the very early block-edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, with the text in the French language, of which there is an imperfect copy in the Imperial Library at Paris. I have particularly noticed it when referring to the various editions of the work as enumerated by M. Guichard; see vol. ii. pp. 36-7.

APCALYPSIS S. JOHANNIS. FIFTH EDITION.

This edition, described vol. ii. pp. 48-50, I have unhesitatingly placed among the productions of Germany. It is of a peculiarly coarse style, and is not unlike that exhibited in the *Liber Regum*. The marks on the paper of the few copies I have seen are of a totally different character from those found in the other Block-Books, either of the Low Countries or Germany. The designs were probably not executed before

1450,

though copies of this edition may have been issued as late, and later than, 1460.

APOCALYPSIS S. JOHANNIS. SIXTH EDITION.

The edition styled by Heineken, p. 367, as "*l'édition de Gotwic*," of which a duplicate copy from the collection of M. T. O. Weigel of Leipsic was sold in Paris in 1855, is of even more coarse execution than the preceding. Though Heineken considered that edition as "*la plus ancienne et véritablement la première*," yet, in describing the present one, he observed of it, "*qui, si je me trompe, surpasse pour son antiquité toutes les précédentes*."

I have not had the opportunity of inspecting the copy sold at Paris, but, through the aid of M. Techner, I have before me pencil copies of the first and last pages, which, though not minutely accurate fac-similes, are sufficiently correct to warrant my asserting, that the designs have been copied from the preceding edition, placed by me as the *fifth*, though considered by Heineken to have been the *first* of the work. On comparing the first page of the two editions, I find that, in the upper design, the feet of the four figures to the right, and also the blades of grass in the foreground, as seen in plate LXV., are omitted. With the exception, however, of the form of the beards of the first and third of the figures referred to, and a few other trifling variations, the copyist has preserved the general expression of the features of those and the other figures in the page. The texts in the scrolls are of a smaller size than those in plate LXV.

It is not, however, merely the character of the design that leads me to consider the edition as being subsequent in date to the preceding. I think, that, unless the wood-blocks were engraved many years previous to the striking off the impressions of the copy sold at Paris, the water-mark of the *Anchor within a Circle* on the paper of that copy is almost a positive proof of its not having been issued at an earlier date than 1460.

That mark is very rarely to be found in any other paper than that of Italian manufacture; and in no other copy of the Block-Books have I met with it; nor is it found as a mark in general use in books printed in Germany. In going through all the copies, in the British Museum, of the works printed by Caxton, I met with only one instance of the mark of the *Anchor within a Circle*. It was in the *Liber Festivalis*, dated 1483. A tracing of that mark is given, No. 2, plate QA., and is very similar to that from a work printed at Venice in 1475, see *Typographia*, Cent. XV., No. 68.

BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

The only edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, corresponding in design with those so fully described in vol. i., that can be, I think, unhesitatingly ascribed to Germany, is that placed by Heineken as the *first* of the work, though that mentioned as the *sixth* edition, a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library, may have been issued in that country.

The marks on the paper of the only two copies I have been able to examine are of a character very unlike any that I have met with in the Block-Books either of the Netherlands or Germany. This remark applies more particularly to the P, as seen in plate T. The mark with the three circles above, in lieu of the *fleur-de-lis*, or the *quatre feuille*, is not often to be met with. The P, at the side, is from a manuscript bearing date 1480. I do not, however, bring forward the mark as evidence of the edition not having appeared before 1480; but I think I may safely consider it not to be earlier than 1470.



I cannot believe that there ever appeared an edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* of such barbarous design and work as that displayed in the fac-simile, plate LXXIII. It may be, that the wood-blocks (from which the impressions in my possession, whence the plate was copied) were executed for the illustration of some work in the Block-Books, and consequently of comparatively modern date. The same observation applies equally to plate LXXVIII., a page from the *Speculum*.

The EDITION of the BIBLIA PAUPERUM, described from the work of Heineken, (pp. 309-316), is altogether of another character, as seen in the specimen of its design, plate LXIX., being a fac-simile of that given by Heineken, pl. 7. He states that it is the only copy he had met with. The engraving is ostensibly of the school of Israel van Meek, and consequently not earlier than about 1470.

The EDITION, with the text in the German language (described vol. ii. pp. 58-60), bearing the names, *Frederic Walthern* and *Hans Hurning*, with the date, 1470, renders any observations unnecessary; as is also the case with two other very similar editions (mentioned vol. ii. pp. 61-2) dated 1471.

CIROMANTIA.

This work, bearing the name of "*irog scapff*," or "*iorg scapff*," on the final page, of which a fac-simile is given, plate LXXX., is very much of the same school as the earliest edition of the *Quindecim Signa*, as will be seen by examining the block-type in the fac-similes, plates LXIV. and LXXIX., from each work. The date, 1448, occurring at the close of the introductory observation to the wood-engraving on the reverse of the second leaf, see vol. ii. p. 86, does not appear to have any reference to the period when the work first appeared. It merely informs us that it was then compiled at the desire of the Princess Anna of Brunswick, though, at the same time, it must be allowed that there is nothing to prove that the blocks were not engraved in, or soon after, 1448.

There were two editions of the work; but not having had the opportunity of comparing them, I am unable to state whether there is any difference in their contents beyond that in the spelling of the name of the wood-engraver or publisher, as particularly noticed, vol. ii. p. 90.

There are no marks on the paper of the *Spencer* copy, or in that in the Imperial Library at Paris; consequently, the paper affords no assistance in arriving at the probable date of the issue of the work. The paper of the *Spencer* copy is of a peculiarly coarse texture, unlike any I have seen as having been manufactured during the early part of the fifteenth century. I therefore suspect the impressions for that copy were not taken off the blocks until after 1460.

DIE ACHT SCHALKHEITEN. THE EIGHT ROGUES.

I much regret that M. T. O. Wiesel, who is in possession of the only known copy of the work, did not favour me with the information particularly requested, in order that I might have formed a more correct judgment as to the opinion of its exhibiting (as stated by him, see vol. ii. p. 154) one of the earliest specimens of wood-engraving executed in Germany, than the fac-simile (vol. ii. p. 155) of one of the designs given from the work of Dr. Falkenstein enables me to do.

DE GENERATIONE CHRISTI.

The contents of the work are copiously detailed in vol. ii. pp. 62-71. Its arrangement much resembles that in the *Endkrist* and *Quindecim Signa*. It bears on the first page the initials F. W., evidently the name of the designer, most probably *Frederic Walther*, the artist employed in the execution of the German Edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, dated 1470, the like date, 1470, occurring at the foot of the first page of the *De Generatione Christi*, after the initials F. W., see plate LXXII.

The other EDITION, described vol. ii. pp. 72-75, is of a totally different style of engraving, and has on the last leaf the subjoined colophon, dated 1471. It is taken from the fac-simile given in the work of Dr. Falkenstein, p. 37.

**Johannes eylenbüch impressor
Anno ab incarnacōis dñice q̃
quadringentesimo septuagésimo 1^o.**

The copy in the *British Museum* wants, as stated vol. ii. p. 72, the last two leaves.

MIRABILIA ROMÆ.

I quite agree with the author of the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (vol. vi. p. 188) in considering the volume not to be of "an earlier date than 1476," though it may have been issued "as late as 1484."

It exhibits the most extensive xylographic production known, consisting, as it does, of no less than one hundred and eighty-four pages of block-text. Unlike all the other Block-Books, it is entirely composed of block-type; and as it was evidently issued some years after the Art of Printing had become in general use all over Germany, one is at a loss to account for the application of block-type to such an extent.

SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

The series of wood-blocks employed for what may be considered a Block-Book, of which there was a copy in the library of the late Mr. Perkins, as described vol. ii. 78-83, were previously used for the folio edition of the work in German, printed at *Basle*, by *Richel*, in 1476.

EXERCITIUM SUPER PATER NOSTER.

Of the edition with the Latin text in the scrolls, I have given, vol. ii. p. 139, a fac-simile, observing, at the same time, that it appears to be of the same class of engraving as that exhibited in plates LXVIII. and LXXVIII., though the design is superior. That, however, is accounted for, as the engravings may be very closely copied from the designs of an earlier edition, no doubt issued in the Low Countries, the texts in the scrolls being in the Flemish language. A copy of each edition is in the Imperial Library at Paris.

HOROLOGIUM (ZEITGLOCKLEIN), SEU PASSIO CHRISTI, GERMANICE.

Vol. ii. pp. 140-1.

VITA CHRISTI, SEU MEDITATIONES DE NOVO TESTAMENTO, GERMANICE.

Vol. ii. pp. 142-3, with fac-simile specimen.

DER BEICHTSPIEGEL; SEU CONFESSIONALE.

Vol. ii. pp. 144-7. Plate LXXXIV.

DAS APOSTOLISCHE GLAUBENSBEKENNTNISZ.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Vol. ii. p. 148. Plate LXXXV.

DIE LEGENDE VOM B. MEINRAD.—THE LEGEND OF ST. MEINRAD.

Vol. ii. pp. 150-1, with fac-simile specimen.

DER TODTENTANZ.—THE DANCE OF DEATH.

Vol. ii. pp. 156-8. Plate LXXXVI. No. 1.

DIE FABEL VOM KRANKEN LOWEN.—THE FABLE OF THE SICK LION.

Vol. ii. p. 159. Plate LXXXVI. No. 2.

DIE ZEHN GEBOTE.—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

Vol. ii. pp. 160-160b. Plate LXXXVI*.

I have not had the opportunity of examining a copy of the *Exercitium super Pater Noster*, or of the eight above-mentioned works. Of each of those Block-Books only one copy, I believe, is known. They are preserved in various Public Libraries

on the Continent; consequently, I have been obliged to content myself with presenting to my readers copies of the fac-simile specimens of them from the works of the various authors by whom they have been, at different times, described, availing myself of the notices they have given respecting them. In doing this, I have not attempted (more particularly in the absence of any information as to the character of the marks on the paper) to assign any dates as to the probable period of their issue. At the same time, however, I think that most of them appeared after

1470,

though in venturing such an opinion I am fully aware of the difficulty, even with the most experienced, of obtaining concurrence upon points of dates, which, after all, must be, to a great extent, conjectural.

In conclusion, I will only observe, that while my object has been to give, as far as I have been enabled, a faithful account of the various editions of the Block-Books, I have endeavoured to shew, that, while those executed in GERMANY are by far the most numerous, yet some of the earliest of those works were copied from editions which had been previously issued in HOLLAND or the LOW COUNTRIES.

Therefore, in asserting the justness of the claims of HOLLAND to the ORIGIN of the ART OF PRINTING by MOVEABLE TYPE, I think that country may equally claim the INVENTION of BLOCK-TYPE as applied to the illustration of those xylographic productions which have formed the subject of the present work.

END OF VOL. III.



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ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page	line	is for	work the being,	read	works.
"	23	"	19	"	£20.
"	33	"	13	"	pl. XLVI.
"	33	"	14	"	à croire,
"	61	"	21	"	XLII, <i>Butfield</i> copy uncoloured.
"	90	last line but	2	"	patern.
"	129	line	6	"	related by.
"	141	"	20	"	er, rather, cut type.
"	142	"	4	"	succeeding.
"	144	"	23	"	nearly the same.
"	144	"	26	"	Hawthorch.
"	146	"	17	"	at least printed.
"	163	"	9	"	types cast.
"	179	"	3	"	Davon.
"	196	"	30	"	books expanding.

VOLUME II.

Page	line	is for	Ankedy,	read	Enchell.
"	56	"	2	"	last page.
"	53	last line but	1	"	one equally unskilled.
"	163	line	19	"	engravings after.
"	113	"	4	"	writer in.
"	"	"	13	"	the editor.
"	127	"	33	"	Mr. Peter Cunningham.
"	144	"	in note	"	Auerbach.
"	144	"	"	"	Westmen.
"	151	"	"	"	Falkenstein.

VOLUME III.

Page	line	is note for	Grimston	read	Grimstone.
"	80	"	6	"	Nor do we find.
"	91	"	22	"	Hayn.
"	107	"	1 & 4	"	Edition vi.
"	129	line 2 and note	Three,	"	Thron.
"	135	line	16	"	that it was.
"	136	"	4	"	type used.
"	144	"	4	"	been unknown.

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